

Europe's Red Terrorists: The Fighting Communist Organizations

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and
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*To Daphne and Dean Alexander, young legal scholars
To Jennifer Marie Pluchinsky, born 13 March 1992*

Introduction

Following an overview of the challenge of contemporary terrorism, this book examines a particular strain of terrorist group that is found primarily in Western Europe – the ‘fighting communist organization’ or FCO. For almost a quarter of a century, FCOs have caused political and security problems in Western Europe. Their terrorist campaigns have caused the deaths of scores of prominent and influential businessmen, politicians, judges, police officials, and military officers. Carrying the banner of Marxism-Leninism, these groups have sought to overthrow the democratic governments in their respective countries. Germany, Italy, France, Spain, Belgium, Turkey, Portugal and Greece have all, at one time or another, been confronted with an FCO terrorist threat. The urban terrorist activities of these groups have directly challenged the democratic institutions of these states and forced many of them to design special anti-terrorist laws to counter this growing threat.

The high-water mark for the FCO threat was reached in 1984 and 1985 when seven FCOs were active in six European countries. It was during these years that this FCO threat collectively was called the ‘Euroterrorist’ threat as European governments feared that these groups were establishing an ‘anti-imperialist’ alliance of West European terrorist groups. During the late 1980s, Italy, Belgium, France and Portugal neutralized the FCOs operating in their countries. In 1992, four FCOs are active in Western Europe: the Red Army Faction (RAF) in Germany, the Revolutionary Organization 17 November (17N) in Greece, the First of October Anti-Fascist Resistance Groups (GRAPO) in Spain, and the Revolutionary Left or Dev Sol in Turkey.

It was assumed that with the disintegration of the communist regimes in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union and the concurrent discrediting of the Communist Parties in these countries, that the European FCOs would encounter a serious ideological crisis leading to their dissolution. This has not happened. While Marxism-Leninism as a ruling ideology has been seriously damaged, it is still attractive as a revolutionary ideology. The RAF, 17N, GRAPO and Dev Sol continue to adhere to the principles and revolutionary strategy of Marxism-Leninism. Although no European FCO has ever achieved its goal of overthrowing a democratic

government, and an objective analysis of the current economic, social and political conditions in Western Europe argue against the attainment of this goal in the near future, these FCOs can still cause political and security problems. They still have the ability to force themselves onto the domestic political agenda in their countries, especially Greece and Turkey.

It is also possible that FCOs may surface in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. Dedicated communists still exist in this region. The current social, economic and political problems that are developing in this region should create a conducive environment for the emergence of neo-communist terrorist groups. If such groups form, they would most likely pattern themselves after the FCOs that have operated in Western Europe. Consequently, it is important to examine the European FCOs in order to understand what type of terrorist group may surface in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union in the mid-1990s.

This book was not designed to be an all-inclusive, detailed study of the European FCOs. To the authors' knowledge, no such study exists. The intent was to compile a brief collection of documents (attack communiqués, ideological tracts, interviews, policy statements, etc.) written by the European FCOs so that the reader can obtain a general understanding of how these groups think and view the world about them. Brief profiles and chronologies of terrorist attacks of seven FCOs are provided as an introduction to the documents. These profiles and chronologies will give an idea of the preferred tactics and targets of these groups. Many of the FCO documents are being published in English for the first time.

The reader should be warned, however, that because these groups use specialized Marxist-Leninist and terrorist jargon, some passages in the documents may be hard to understand. There are more than enough comprehensible documents to allow the reader to obtain a clear understanding of the mindset and world view of the fighting communist organizations.

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A number of research assistants, including James T. Kirkhope, Samuel Bently, Matthew Brown, Tim Cartwright, Paul Ginsburg, Christopher Harmel, Vickie Morriberon, Brian Thompson and Veronica Wiles, also deserve thanks for their help in preparing the manuscript for publication.

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1 Contemporary Terrorism: An Overview

YONAH ALEXANDER

Terrorism – the calculated unlawful utilization of physical force and psychological intimidation by sub-state or clandestine state agents directed against innocent targets, primarily intended to achieve social, economic, political, strategic, or other objectives – is not new in the history of humanity. The concept itself was integrated into the political lexicon during the past two centuries. For instance, *Webster's International Dictionary*, published in 1900, defines 'terrorism' as 'the act of terrorizing, or state of being terrorized: a mode of government by terror or intimidation'. Two other related terms are included in the *Dictionary*: 'terrorist' and 'terrorize'. The former is defined as 'one who governs by terrorism or intimidation; specifically an agent or partisan of the revolutionary tribunal during the Reign of Terror in France', and the latter as 'to impress with terror; to coerce by intimidation. Humiliated by the tyranny of foreign despotism, and terrorized by ecclesiastical authority'.¹

Tragically, the failure of the international community fully to recognize terrorism as criminal behavior and as low-intensity warfare has encouraged the expansion of terrorist activity in the last two decades. There are thousands of terrorist groups that have caused great damage, and many have frequently been exploited by state sponsors in the process. Terrorist operations have been cheap to activate and expensive to counter.²

This chapter describes terrorist actors and shows how they use violent means as a form of political communication and persuasion. It then presents a portrait of the terrorist network, and an analysis of terrorist *modus operandi* and targets.

The Actors

Although they are nourished by various political and social roots and sustained by wide-ranging ideologies, terrorist groups have, nevertheless, a common disposition: contempt and hostility toward the moral and legal

norms of the domestic and international order and glorification of violent deeds for the sake of the causes they seek to advance. Terrorists regard themselves as beyond the limits of any society and system of government and, consequently, not bound by any obligations and constraints, except those they have imposed on themselves for purposes of sub-revolutionary and revolutionary success.

More specifically, these indigenous sub-national groups, mostly acting independently and sometimes as proxies of foreign governments, have proliferated throughout the world. Seeking to achieve ideological, nationalist, or other goals (such as single-issue political objectives as exemplified by animal-rights extremists), these groups have varying objectives.³

In the United States, some of the groups that have been involved in terrorist activities or have supported a policy of violence over the past two decades include the African Peoples Socialist Party (APSP); American Indian Movement (AIM); Animal Liberation Front (ALF); Armed Forces of National Liberation (FALN); Aryan Nations; Black Liberation Army (BLA); Boricuan People's Army (Macheteros, EPB); El Rukns; Jewish Defense League (JDL); Ku Klux Klan; May 19 Communist Organization (M19CO); National Black United Front (NBUF); New African Fighters League; Neo-Nazi Groups; New World Liberation Front (NWL); The Order; Posse Comitatus; United Freedom Front; and the Weather Underground.⁴

These US terrorist groups represent a great variety of ideologies and political and social goals. For example, among the more active groups is the Aryan Nations, which is probably the most violent right-wing group in the United States. It provides an umbrella framework to maintain ties between affiliate groups, such as the Christian Identity Movement, The Order, the Covenant and the Sword, the Arm of the Lord, and the Ku Klux Klan. It is committed to white supremacy, including the elimination of Jews and all other minorities.

In Europe, a multitude of ideological and nationalist groups exist. They include, *inter alia*, the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia (ASALA); Basque Fatherland and Liberty (ETA); Fighting Communist Cells (CCC); Corsican National Liberation Front (FLNC); Direct Action (DA); First of October Anti-Fascists Resistance Group (GRAPO); Iraultza; Irish National Liberation Army (INLA); Justice Commandos of the Armenian Genocide (JCAG); Popular Forces 25 April (FP-25); Provisional Irish Republican Army (PIRA); Red Army Faction (RAF); Red Army for the Liberation of Catalonia (ERCA); Red Brigades (BR); Revolutionary Cells (RZ); Revolutionary Organization 17 November (17 November); and Terra Lliure (TL).⁵

Some of these groups are currently dormant. A case in point is ASALA, an ethnic Marxist-Leninist group (also known as Revolutionary Movement) formed in 1975. Its objectives are to pressure Turkey to admit responsibility for what it regards as the 'genocide' of the Armenians during the First World War and to pay reparations for its 'crime'; to unite 'historic Armenia' in Eastern Turkey and Northern Iran with Soviet Armenia; and to put an end to 'imperialism' and 'Zionism'. Operating in Europe, the Middle East, the United States, and elsewhere, ASALA was led by Hagop Hagopian until he was assassinated in April 1988. It is expected, however, that ASALA will re-emerge again under new leadership.⁶

Among the major active European groups is the Provisional Irish Republican Army (PIRA), also known as the Provos, an offshoot of the Irish Republican Army (IRA). PIRA was formed in 1969 to force Great Britain to evacuate Ulster and then to unify Ireland under a Marxist government. Acting as a clandestine armed wing of the Sinn Fein (the legal political arm of the IRA), PIRA operates not only in Northern Ireland, the Irish Republic, and Great Britain, but also in Western Europe.⁷

In the Middle East, the list of terrorist groups includes the Abu Nidal Organization (ANO); Al-Daawa; Arab Organization of 15 May; Atonement and Flight (Takfir wal Hijra); Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP); Fatah; Forghan; Grey Wolves; Hizballah (Islamic Jihad); Kurdish Worker's Party (PKK); Lebanese Armed Revolutionary Faction (LARF); Organization of the Armed Arab Struggle (OAAS); Palestine Liberation Front (PLF); Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO); Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ); Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP); Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command; Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-Special Command (PFLP-SC); Popular Struggle Front (PSF); and Sai'qa.⁸

Three Middle East groups deserve to be singled out. First is the PLO. Founded in 1964 by Palestinian nationalists seeking to establish an independent Palestinian state in present-day Israel, the PLO serves as an umbrella organization for several constituent groups headed by Yasser Arafat. It consists of Fatah, PFLP, PLF, to mention a few. Despite Arafat's renunciation of terrorism and his recognition of Israel, the PLO has not relinquished the 'armed struggle' strategy and the Palestine charter which calls for the elimination of the Jewish state. The PLO is headquartered in Tunis and operates from other bases in the Middle East and around the world.⁹

The second group is the ANO, a Palestinian movement outside the framework of the PLO. Formed by Sabri al-Banna in 1974, the ANO is also known by other names such as Fatah Revolutionary Council, Arab

Revolutionary Council, Arab Revolutionary Brigades, Black September, and Revolutionary Organization of Socialist Muslims. It aims to undermine the diplomatic moves now developing for negotiating a peaceful settlement of the Arab-Israel conflict and to eradicate the 'Zionist presence' from the Middle East map. Currently based in Iraq where it was headquartered also in 1974-83, the ANO was also located in Syria (1983-87) and Libya (1988-90). Although it has recently undergone internal friction when 100 members rejoined the PLO mainstream Palestinian Movement, the ANO is still considered as the most dangerous group in the world operating in the Middle East, Europe, Asia, and Latin America.¹⁰

The third Middle Eastern group, equally as dangerous as the ANO, is Hizballah, also known by other names including the Party of God, Islamic Jihad, Revolutionary Justice Organization, Organization of the Oppressed on Earth, and Islamic Jihad for the Liberation of Palestine. A radical Lebanese Shia group, it was formed in 1983 to realize the establishment of an Iranian-style Shiite Islamic Republic in Lebanon and to bring about the elimination of non-Islamic presence and influences from the Middle East. Closely tied to Iran, Hizballah operates from several bases, such as the Bekka Valley, Beirut, Southern Lebanon, Western Europe, and Africa.¹¹

The Latin American list of terrorist groups consists of Alfaro Lives, Damn It (AVC); Bandera Roja (Red Flag-GBR); Cinchoneros Popular Liberation Movement (MPL); Clara Elizabeth Ramirez Front (CERF); Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN); Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity (URNG); Lorenzo Zelaya Popular Revolutionary Forces (FBR-LZ); Lautaro Youth Movement (MJL); 19th of April Movement (M-19); Manuel Rodriguez Patriotic Front (FPMR); Morazanist Patriotic Front (FPM); Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR); National Liberation Army (ELN); Nestor Paz Zamora Commission (CNPZ); Popular Liberation Army (EPL); Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC); Ricardo Franco Front (RFF); Sendero Luminoso (SL); Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (MRTA) and Tupamaros.¹²

Among the most dangerous of the above groups is Sendero Luminoso (SL) located in Peru. Formed as a Marxist 'Shining Path to the Future' in the late 1960s by Professor Abimael Guzman Reynoso, it initially became an Indian-based rural rebel movement. Its aim is to eliminate the current governmental structure and replace it with a peasant revolutionary regime. Since 1986 SL has also resorted to urban terrorism, particularly in Lima.¹³

Special mention should also be made of Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN). Unlike all other Latin American terrorist groups, FMLN, operating in El Salvador and in Honduras, serves as an

umbrella organization for several entities. Formed in 1980 for the purpose of replacing the democratically elected regime of El Salvador with a Marxist government, FMLN consists of five left-wing oriented groups: Central American Workers' Revolutionary Party (PRTC), People's Revolutionary Army (ERP), Farabundo Marti Popular Liberation Forces (FPL), Armed Forces of National Resistance (FARN), and the Communist Party of El Salvador Armed Forces of Liberation (FAL).¹⁴

Among the Asian and African terrorist movements operating during the past two decades, those noted should include the African National Congress (ANC); Black Cats; Bodo; Chukaku-Ha (Nucleus or Middle-Core Faction); Dal Khalsa; Dashmesh Regiment; Gurkha National Liberation Front (GNLF); Islamic Action Organization; Japanese Red Army (JRA); Liberation Tigers of Tamil Ealam (LTTE); Mozambique National Resistance (RENAMO); New People's Army (NPA); Shanti Bahini; and Z-Squads.¹⁵

A classic example of an active group is the New People's Army (NPA). Established in 1969 as the guerrilla arm of the Communist Party of the Philippines, NPA organized an urban infrastructure for the purpose of replacing the Manila regime with a Maoist government. Similarly, the Mozambique National Resistance (RENAMO) in existence since 1976 also operates guerrilla insurgency as well as terrorist missions for the purpose of overthrowing the current regime in Mozambique. Supported by South Africa, RENAMO is active in the country and the border areas of Zimbabwe, Malawi and Zambia.¹⁶

Finally, three other aspects about the sub-national perpetrators are noteworthy. First, some of the existing groups constitute bodies which provide a continuity to earlier bodies which had since completely disappeared. A case in point is the Red Army Faction (RAF). This Marxist-Leninist group is the successor to the Baader-Meinhof Gang which existed in Germany in the 1960s. One of the most dangerous terrorist groups in Europe, the RAF has been operating not only in Germany, but also in other countries such as Austria, Belgium, France, the Netherlands, and Switzerland. It has survived despite the fact that many of its leaders have been arrested. RAF's objectives are to destroy Western capitalism and help precipitate a worldwide Marxist revolution.¹⁷

Second, numerous groups that had operated over long periods of time had been neutralized by police through arrests, prosecutions, and imprisonment. The Weather Underground Organization in the United States, the Fighting Communist Cells (CCC) in Belgium, Direct Action (DA) in France, the Red Brigades (RB) in Italy, and the Popular Forces of 25 April (FP-25) in Portugal are some of the groups that come to mind.¹⁸

And third, new groups are constantly emerging. One of the most recent

groups to appear on the terrorist map is Nestor Paz Zamora (CNPZ) in Bolivia. Named after the deceased brother of President Jaime Paz Zamora, this Marxist-Leninist organization surfaced in 1990. One of its major goals is to eliminate US presence in the country. Similarly, in 1991 an anti-US group, calling itself the Popular Army of National Liberation, vowed to 'liberate' Panama.¹⁹

Terrorist groups, then, are active on a global scale. Although some have become inactive, like a volcano, they can unexpectedly erupt without warning – causing serious damage to anyone in their way. Moreover, new terrorist groups form constantly in every generation, thus posing continuing threats to internal security and international order.

Political Communication: Propaganda and Psychological Warfare

It is a truism that terrorist groups, regardless of their geographical location, resort to psychological intimidation and physical force in violation of law in order to make a specific political statement. For instance the failure of left-wing and ideological terrorists to bring about a proletariat revolution and thereby supposedly improve the economic conditions in their countries forces them to vent their frustration in justified violence.

It is not surprising, therefore, that many terrorist groups tend to rationalize their operations by issuing communiqués and leaflets, and other forms of political communication efforts intended to influence a wider audience. Thus, the First of October Anti-Fascists Resistance Group (GRAPO)²⁰ issued a communiqué on 28 March 1990, one day after it assassinated Dr Jose Ramon Munoz in Zaragoza, Spain. The message accused him of being involved in force-feeding GRAPO Prisoners on hunger strike. It added:

... the socio-fascist government swine have not shrunk from applying any means to undermine the prisoners' will to resist, including force-feeding to make them abandon the struggle for their just demand. Dr. Jose Ramon Munoz was one of the instruments used not only in attempting to break the strike, but also in forcing other professionals to accept this criminal policy that, hypocritically, they have portrayed as 'respect for life.'

The communiqué issued a threat: if the government officials will continue with their policy of 'torture and state terrorism' and refuse to release the prisoners, then '... we [GRAPO] are going to go after them, we're going to confront them, and we are going to see to it that justice is served'.²¹

Similarly, the 17 November Organization in Greece²² issued a communiqué after the rocket attack of 10 June 1990 on Proctor and Gamble in Athens. In its message sent to the Greek newspaper *Epikairotita*, 17 November criticized the 'scandalous sale' of profitable industrial bodies, public enterprises, and state organizations which constitute 'stealing from the Greek people'. The communiqué warned that any Greek or foreigner who purchases a public entity without paying its debts will suffer the same punishment as the US multinational company.²³

Also, Germany's Red Army Faction (RAF),²⁴ which claimed responsibility for the attempted assassination in Bonn on 27 July 1990 of Hans Neusel (a senior official in the Ministry of the Interior and the state secretary with the portfolio for internal security), sent a communiqué three days later to the media. In its message, the RAF explained the failure of the operation which consisted of detonating a bomb as Neusel's car passed by, causing only minor injuries to him:

We missed the military goal of the operation – the explosion was to guarantee his death, but also to totally avoid any injuries to innocent bystanders ... within this parameter, we miscalculated the necessary amount of explosives.

The communiqué also justified targeting Neusel in these words:

... we wanted to punish him for his crimes.... He organizes and leads the fight against all who are fighting for liberation, self-determination, and a life of human dignity, and against the destruction which this system is causing. Since 1985, Neusel has been a leading figure in many meetings of the TREVI group and the author of many initiatives for the intensification and coordination of the Western European fight against insurgency and for human refugee problems.... Neusel is a member, or even chairman, of all crisis staffs involved in the fight against the resistance movements, whether it concerns the kidnapping of managers of German multinationals in Lebanon, the coordination of the investigation of our operations, or the intelligence committees of the government.

The communiqué also criticized the movement towards the reunification of Germany:

Neusel embodies – even though indirectly – the continuity of personnel of the German fascism of the Third Reich to the 'Greater Germany' which is moving towards a Fourth Reich.²⁵

As can be seen from these communiqués, political communication is a central objective of terrorists. As important as the violent acts that terrorists commit is the message justifying the ostensible high moral purpose underlying the committing of those acts.

The Terrorist Network

Experience over the past two decades has shown that terrorist groups thrive on collaboration across national boundaries. Shared ideologies and commitment to radical strategies, such as the professed 'struggle' against capitalism, imperialism, racism, and Zionism, enable groups to translate rhetoric into action. And most importantly, state-sponsored terrorism, as a form of low-intensity conflict that states (e.g., Iran, Iraq, and Syria) undertake when they find it to be convenient and beneficial to engage in hostile activities without having to be held accountable for their actions, depends on proxies and surrogates, seemingly acting independently of their sponsors.

The informal and formal relationship among various terrorist groups and state sponsors results in a machinery for terror on a national, regional and global framework. This network operates essentially on ten levels: ideological alliances, propaganda support, diplomatic assistance, geographic sanctuary, financial help, training, organizational assistance, intelligence, supply of weapons, and operations.²⁶

Thus, the ANO has received safe haven, financial aid, training, logistical assistance and other help, including selected operational support from Iraq, Libya, and Syria. ASALA was supported by Syria (e.g. safe haven and training) and possibly by Libya. It has developed extensive ties with various Palestinian groups such as PELP and PFLP-GC. ETA received training from Libya and Nicaragua and developed ties with PIRA. Syria and Libya provided financial and military support to DFLP.

Also, Cuba and the Sandinistas in Nicaragua furnished a variety of services, such as logistical support, to FMLN. Front groups and sympathetic organizations in the United States and Europe give financial aid. Hizballah enjoyed extensive aid from Iran, including funding, training, weapons, and logistical and operational support. Several Palestinian groups, such as PFLP, gave JRA extensive assistance, such as training, weapons, and operational support. North Korea and Libya also extended help, such as logistical support. Furthermore, PKK has trained its members in Lebanon and Syria. LARF has received funding and logistical help from Syria. It also maintains ties to European groups, such as DA, RB, and RAF. The PLO developed extensive links with many terrorist groups (e.g., IRA) and governments. Fatah, in particular, received training

and weapons from countries, such as the Soviet Union, East European states, China, Cuba, North Korea, and Vietnam. Also, Arab countries (e.g., Saudi Arabia and the Gulf States) provided financial help. PFLP-GC enjoyed Syrian logistical and military help and Libyan funding. And MRTA received training from Cuba and probably some help from Libya.²⁷

An interesting aspect of the terrorist network is the formation of a 'regional' framework within which various like-minded groups collaborated with each other. A case in point is the European 'anti-imperialist' network which consisted of several Marxist-Leninist groups, such as RAF, DA, and RB. From 1985 to February 1987 RAF and DA established the first front. After the DA leadership was arrested, the RAF joined RB in the second front. It folded again when the RB was neutralized in 1988. Nevertheless, there have been recent efforts to reconstruct the framework by RAF and GRAPO. It is not surprising, therefore, that in 1990 RAF was engaged in several proxy-operations in Germany in support of GRAPO (e.g., arson attacks and vandalism against several Spanish car dealerships in Germany).²⁸

Another noteworthy aspect of the international connection between terrorist groups and supporters is the inter-regional ties. An example is the linkages which the Shining Path has maintained with the Internationalist Revolutionary Movement (MRI) since 1980. The organization is composed of 18 Maoist-oriented bodies throughout the world, including such groups as the Union of Iranian Communists, the US Revolutionary Communist Party, the Communist Party of India, and the Red Banner Group of New Zealand. MRI raises funds and co-ordinates propaganda activities in guiding the 'world proletariat'. The Shining Path maintains a permanent representative on MRI's leadership board and benefits from its support. Through MRI and other various pro-terrorist 'cultural' movements (e.g., the Peruvian Revolution Support Committee, CARP), the Shining Path is able to assume political, logistical and financial help globally.²⁹

Finally, because substantial state-sponsored support to terrorist groups throughout the world, particularly from the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, has been withdrawn, and because international counter-terrorist efforts are increasing and succeeding, it is expected that sub-national perpetrators will find it more critical than ever before to develop stronger linkages. Without such ties their future survival will become more questionable.

And so, terrorism is rarely confined to a single national border. On the contrary, it thrives on ties that transcend boundaries. Even with the end of the cold war, in which communist countries aided terrorists throughout the world, international linkages will persist to build a terrorist network.

Modus Operandi and Targets

Rural and urban terrorist groups, some highly structured (e.g., the PLO) and others loosely organized (e.g., CCC), have utilized a wide range of tactics during the last two decades including arson, bombings, kidnappings, hijackings, facility attacks, and assassinations. Explosives and arms, such as guns and more sophisticated weapons (including antitank rockets and ground-to-air missiles), comprise the terrorist arsenal.

Clearly, the *modus operandi* of terrorist groups varies considerably depending on the motivations and capabilities of the perpetrators. In the 1970s, for example, Fatah destroyed fuel tanks at Rotterdam oil docks; murdered 11 Israeli athletes at the Munich Olympics; and attempted a missile attack against an El Al aircraft in Rome. GRAPO kidnapped the president of the Supreme Military Tribunal; assassinated the Director of Penal Institutions; and bombed a Madrid café, killing eight and wounding 40. And the JRA carried out a machine gun and grenade attack at Lod Airport, killing 26 people (including 16 Puerto Rican pilgrims to the Holy Land); attacked Shell Oil refinery storage tanks and seized a ferry boat crew and hostages in Singapore; and hijacked a Japan Airlines plane in Bombay.³⁰

In the 1980s, sub-national groups have continued to either deliberately select their targets or indiscriminately attack their victims. Thus, Hizballah bombed US and French peacekeeping forces in Lebanon; kidnapped Western citizens in Beirut; and hijacked Kuwait Airways flight 422. DA bombed the American School in Paris; employed a car bomb against the headquarters of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development; and murdered the Chairman of Renault. Also, M-19 kidnapped and subsequently killed a US citizen; staged simultaneous attacks on military and police installations and banks; and seized Bogota's Palace of Justice, taking some 500 hostages, including many members of the Supreme Court and the Council of State.³¹

In 1990, both domestic and international terrorist groups have continued to conduct their operations with similar tactics utilized during the previous twenty-year period. Among the typical incidents, the following examples illustrate the nature and scope of terrorist capabilities:³² Spanish Basque deputies were shot in a Madrid restaurant by ETA; RAF exploded a pipe bomb in a train station in Hanover; Italian environmentalists conducted an explosive attack damaging some French electrical utility operational equipment close to the Goldfech nuclear power station; a house was blown up in Stepanaker, the administrative center of Nagorno-Karabakh, by unknown Armenian extremists; Kazem Radjavi, brother of the leader of the anti-Teheran Iranian Mujahadin, Massoud Radjavi, was

assassinated in Geneva apparently by Iranian agents; 17 November rocketed an armored vehicle occupied by a Greek businessman; and PIRA bombed London's Carlton Club (seriously wounding 2 people) and killed Ian Gow, British Conservative Member of Parliament, in a car bomb.

Furthermore, RENAMO kidnapped two members of the International Committee of the Red Cross working in Mozambique; Shia terrorists assassinated three Saudi diplomats in Bangkok; letter bombs mailed by unknown terrorists were intercepted in Israel; a seaborne attack carried out by the PLF with the support of Libya was aborted near Tel Aviv beaches; the Egyptian Speaker of the People's Assembly, Dr. Rifat al Mahgoub, was assassinated by Islamic fundamentalists; SL detonated explosives at US, Soviet, Chinese, German and Japanese embassies in Lima; CNPZ kidnapped the Bolivian Coca-Cola President; the Mujahadin Kashmir bombed a passenger train in Bombay injuring 30 people; and the Sinhalese (JUP) murdered 15 villagers in Sri Lanka accused of collaborating with the police.

In 1991, the chronology of terrorist incidents is equally staggering. PIRA was responsible for the mortar bomb attack against the residence of the British Prime Minister at 10 Downing Street and the bombing of crowded railway stations in London; the RAF sprayed the US Embassy in Bonn with over 250 rounds from automatic weapons; the Thomas Muenzers Wild Bunch (Wilder Haufen) conducted an arson attack on a building belonging to the Treuhand Privatization Agency in Berlin; a booby-trap bomb planted by ETA injured Spanish Civil Guards; explosions perpetrated by an unknown group damaged Citibank branches in Athens; and Islamic Jihad claimed responsibility for bombing the car of an Iraqi commercial attaché in Ankara.³³

Also, Rajiv Gandhi, a former Prime Minister of India, was assassinated by Tamil terrorists; Lima, with its 7 million residents, was darkened by Peru's Shining Path; a Soviet plane with 171 passengers was hijacked by extremists desiring to protest Moscow's refusal to accept the declaration of the independence of Checheno-Ingushskaya; a busload of Soviet Jewish émigrés en route to Israel was attacked by a remote-control bomb in Budapest by an unknown organization, killing an Hungarian policeman and injuring another; a car bomb packed with 100 kilograms of explosives killed 20 people and wounded more than 100 in Beirut (no attackers claimed responsibility for this bombing); and Toshiba Corporation has paid \$2 million to the leftist terrorist Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) to free two of its kidnapped employees.

To be sure, the Gulf Crisis triggered a dramatic upsurge of uncoordinated violent demonstrations and terrorist attacks world-wide, directed against US or coalition targets. Many of the attacks involved incendiary

devices, hand grenades, and small bombs. Most caused property damage but resulted in few casualties. The operations were conducted by indigenous groups which have been engaged in similar activities in the past. In claiming responsibility for some of the attacks, the perpetrators have rationalized their operations by referring to their sympathy for Iraq in the Gulf Crisis.

More specifically, small-scale incidents involving non-US targets include, *inter alia*, the following events: demonstrators vandalized cars in Stuttgart; French, Italian, and Saudi banks were bombed in Lebanon; in Lima, a car bomb exploded at the international airport and sticks of dynamite were tossed at the British Cultural Centre; the Paris headquarters of the newspaper *Liberation* was bombed; hand grenades were thrown at radio stations in the Philippines; Molotov cocktails were thrown at French residences; the Italian consulate in Istanbul was bombed; an explosive device detonated in the parking lot of the tax office in Ankara; the French cultural center in Amman was burned; a mortar attack occurred in London; and an Italian sailor serving in Operation Desert Storm was murdered in Dubai.³⁴

During the first three months of 1992, similar terrorist incidents have already been recorded. For example, white extremists seeking to preserve the apartheid system in South Africa, bombed a multiracial school; a Jewish settler was shot to death by Palestinian terrorists in the Gaza strip; an unknown gunman assassinated one of Yassir Arafat's intelligence chiefs in Lebanon; in India, a land-mine damaged several police cars; an IRA bomb exploded in the heart of Whitehall, causing some damage; in Peru the People's Guerrilla Front claimed credit for eight murders; a synagogue was attacked in Istanbul by members of Hizballah; a car bomb killed an Israeli diplomat in Ankara; a bomb planted by Shanti Bahini ('Peace Force') in Bangladesh exploded aboard a crowded motor launch killing 14 people and injuring 15; an American businessman was kidnapped by the Red Scorpion in the Philippines; and the Israeli Embassy in Buenos Aires was leveled by a car bomb, killing 29 and wounding 250 people.³⁵

Terrorists, then, use a variety of methods, including assassination, destruction of property, and the slaughtering of innocent people. They shift targets readily, thus making security for their enemies difficult to achieve.

To be sure, terrorist operations have thus far been characterized by the perpetrators' desire to demonstrate their tactical capabilities, rather than to commit a major violent act for its own sake. However, technological developments create new weapons and offer new targets. It is highly likely, therefore, that unconventional terrorism – chemical, biological, and

nuclear – will become institutional in the reconstructed global security system.³⁶

After all, we have already seen examples of increased propensity of terrorists to turn to mass casualty operations. The latest example is a December 1991 aborted attempt to bomb an Air India flight from New Delhi to London with 398 passengers and 18 crew members. Also barriers against unconventional weapons have been breached, as evidenced by the finding of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) inspectors in Iraq as well as by the earlier use of chemical weapons in the Iran–Iraq war.³⁷

Although no major mass destruction incident has occurred, the historical record of the past two decades provides actual evidence of terrorist groups involved in some sort of unconventional operations. Thus, in 1972, members of the Order of the Rising Sun in the United States were found in possession of 30–40 kilograms of typhoid bacteria cultures for use against water supplies in major Midwest cities. Similarly, in 1974, right-wing Italian terrorists planned to poison the country's water supplies with radioactive uranium stolen from a nuclear center. In 1980, police in Paris discovered a biological laboratory with a clostridium botulinum culture belonging to the German Baader–Meinhof gang. And in 1986, a typhoid (*Salmonella typhi*) was used by the Rajneesh religious cult in Oregon to contaminate salad bars in restaurants, resulting in 750 cases.³⁸

In short, the advances of science and technology are slowly turning the whole of modern society into a potential victim of terrorism, with no immunity for the non-combatant segment of the world population or for those nations and people with no direct connection to the particular conflicts and specific grievances that motivate acts of violence. Super-terrorism, then, is likely to have an unprecedented serious impact on the future quality of life and on orderly, civilized existence.

NOTES

1. *The Webster International Dictionary*, supervised by Noah Porter (Springfield, MA: G. & L. Merriam, 1902), p. 1489.

For recent sources on the definitional forms see, for instance, Yonah Alexander (ed.), *Terrorism: An International Resource File, 1989 Index*, and *1990 Index* (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI, 1990–1991), and *Terrorism and International Resource File, 1970–1989 Bibliography* (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI, 1991), later cited as *1970–1989 Bibliography*.

2. For some surveys of terrorist activity, for example, Yonah Alexander and Ray S. Cline (eds), 'Worldwide Chronology of Terrorism – 1981', *Terrorism: An International Journal*, Vol. 6, No. 2 (1982), pp. 107–388; Yonah Alexander (ed.), *The 1986 Annual on Terrorism* (Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Martinus Nijhoff, 1987); Yonah Alexander and Abraham H. Foxman (eds), *The 1987 Annual on Terrorism* and *The 1988–1989 Annual on Terrorism* (Dordrecht: Martinus Nijhoff, 1989 and 1990).

- For some general works see, for example, Yonah Alexander (ed.), *International Terrorism: National, Regional, and Global Perspectives* (New York: Praeger, 1976); Yonah Alexander, David Carlton and Paul Wilkinson (eds), *Terrorism: Theory and Practice* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1979); Yonah Alexander and Seymour M. Finger (eds), *Terrorism: Interdisciplinary Perspectives* (Maidenhead: McGraw Hill, 1978); and Robert Kupperman and Jeff Kamen, *Final Warning* (New York: Doubleday, 1989).
3. For general surveys of domestic and international groups see, for instance, Peter Jenke, *Guerrilla and Terrorist Organizations: A World Directory and Bibliography* (New York: Macmillan, 1983) and Henry W. Degenhart (ed.), *Political Dissent: An International Guide to Dissident, Extra-Parliamentary Guerrilla and Illegal Political Movements* (Detroit: Gale Research Company, 1983).
 4. See, for example, *Regional Risk Assessment: North America* (Alexandria, VA: Risks International, August 1979); 'Report of the Policy Study Group on Terrorism' (New York State: The Criminal Justice Institute, November, 1985); Samuel T. Francis, *The Terrorist Underground in the United States* (Washington, DC: The Nathan Hale Institute, n.d.); and Brian M. Jenkins, 'Terrorism in the United States', *TVI Journal*, Vol. 5, No. 1 (1984), pp. 1-4.
 5. See, for instance, *Guerrilla and Terrorist Organizations*, op. cit., and *Political Dissent*, op. cit., for details on these and other organizations. For a recent study, see, for example, Yonah Alexander and Dennis A. Pluchinsky (eds), *European Terrorism: Today and Tomorrow* (McLean, VA: Brassey's, 1991).
 6. See, for instance, *Terrorist Group Profiles* (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1989), pp. 32-4.
 7. For recent studies see, for instance, Yonah Alexander and Alan O'Day (eds), *The Irish Terrorism Experience* (Aldershot: Dartmouth, 1991), *Ireland's Terrorist Trauma: Interdisciplinary Perspectives* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1989); *Ireland's Terrorist Dilemma* (Dordrecht: Martinus Nijhoff, 1986), and *Terrorism in Ireland* (London: Croom Helm, 1984).
 8. See, for example, *Terrorist Group Profiles*, op. cit., pp. 3-31, and *1970-1989 Bibliography*, op. cit., pp. 147-82.
 9. See, for instance, Yonah Alexander and Joshua Sinai, *Terrorism: The PLO Connection* (New York: Crane Russak, 1989).
 10. See, for example, Yossi Melman, *The Master Terrorist: The True Story of Abu Nidal* (New York: Avon, 1987).
 11. See, for instance, *Terrorist Group Profiles*, op. cit., pp. 15-18.
 12. Ibid., pp. 74-114.
 13. Ibid., pp. 106-11.
 14. Ibid., pp. 82-5.
 15. Ibid., pp. 114-31.
 16. Ibid., pp. 122-4, and *Patterns of Global Terrorism: 1990* (Washington, DC: US Department of State, April 1991), p. 61.
 17. See, for example, *Terrorist Group Profiles*, op. cit., pp. 61-4.
 18. See, for instance, *Patterns of Global Terrorism: 1990*, op. cit.
 19. Ibid., p. 62.
 20. Ibid., p. 63.
 21. Full text incorporated in this volume, listed as Grapo Communiqué, 20 March 1990.
 22. See, for example, *Terrorist Group Profiles*, op. cit., pp. 69-72.
 23. *Epikairoitita*, 11 June 1990.
 24. See note 17.
 25. Full text incorporated in this volume, listed as RAF Communiqué 30 July 1990.
 26. See, for example, *Terrorist Group Profiles*, op. cit.
 27. See, for instance, *Patterns of Global Terrorism*, op. cit.
 28. See, for example, Alexander and Pluchinsky, op. cit., Ch. 2.
 29. See, for instance, Foreign Broadcasting Information Service, 1991-1992.
 30. Various press reports during the 1970s.
 31. Various press reports during the 1980s.
 32. Various press reports during 1990. See also *Patterns of Global Terrorism*, op. cit., pp. 43-8.

33. Various press reports during 1991.
34. See, for example, *The Manila Chronicle*, 25 January 1991.
35. See, for example, Business Risk International, *Risk Assessment Quarterly* (Arlington, VA: January-March, 1992).
36. See, for example, *1970-1989 Bibliography*, op. cit., pp. 191-5 for mass destruction sources.
37. Various press reports in 1991 and 1992.
38. For discussion of super-terrorism see, for example, Yonah Alexander and John M. Gleason (eds), *Behavioral and Quantitative Perspective on Terrorism* (New York: Pergamon Press, 1981), Ch. 15.

2 | Western Europe's Red Terrorists: The Fighting Communist Organizations

DENNIS A. PLUCHINSKY

For the past 24 years, numerous Western European governments have been threatened by a strain or species of terrorist group known as 'fighting communist organizations' (FCO).¹ Found predominantly in Western Europe, an FCO is generally a small, lethal, urban terrorist group which is guided by Marxist-Leninist ideology. The ultimate objective of European FCOs is to overthrow the democratic government in their country of origin and replace it with a vaguely defined 'proletarian dictatorship'. Although no FCO has to date accomplished this goal, these terrorist groups have still caused major political and security problems for Germany, Belgium, Italy, Greece, France, Turkey, Portugal and Spain. They have also been a significant security threat to American diplomatic, military, and commercial interests in Western Europe.

The most notorious and significant FCOs which have operated in Western Europe since the early 1970s have been: (1) the Red Army Faction (RAF) in West Germany; (2) the Fighting Communist Cells (CCC) in Belgium; (3) Direct Action (DA) in France; (4) the Red Brigades (RB) in Italy; (5) the First of October Anti-Fascist Resistance Groups (GRAPO in Spanish) in Spain; (6) the Revolutionary Organization 17 November (17N) in Greece; (7) the Popular Forces of 25 April

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(FP-25) in Portugal; and (8) the Revolutionary Left (DEV SOL – Turkish acronym) in Turkey.² The CCC, DA, RB and FP-25 are currently inactive – primarily because of police arrests of their leadership cadre – while GRAPO is at present in a weak operational state. By mid-1992, only the RAF, 17N, DEV SOL, and GRAPO remain as active FCOs in Europe.³

The objectives of this chapter are to provide an introduction to the European fighting communist organizations by briefly examining their ideological creed and operational characteristics, and by surveying their written propaganda outlets. The succeeding chapters of this book will present individual group profiles of the CCC, RAF, 17N, GRAPO, DA, RB, and Dev Sol. A collection of communiqués issued by these groups will be found at the end of each group profile.⁴

The Terrorist Threat in Western Europe: An Overview

In order to understand the nature of the terrorist threat that the FCOs have presented in Western Europe, it is first necessary to look at the other two 'strains' of terrorist activity that have infected the Western European security environment since the late 1960s. Each of these three strains of terrorist activity presents a different type of threat to the European security environment. The first strain is produced by European separatist groups such as the Irish Republican Army (IRA), the Basque Homeland and Liberty group (ETA – Basque acronym), the Corsican National Liberation Front (FLNC – French initials), and, to a lesser extent, the Catalanian Free Land (Terra Lluire or TL in Catalan). All four have been involved in extended terrorist campaigns designed to acquire, by force, independence for their respective ethnic homelands.⁵

The European separatist groups have focused their terrorist activities on what they consider to be the 'forces of occupation' (police and military elements) in their homelands. These operations have taken place primarily within their respective ethnic regions. Some attacks have also taken place in the capitals of the central government (London, Madrid, Paris).⁶ Moreover, both the IRA and the ETA have carried out occasional terrorist operations in other European countries. According to the IRA, 'overseas attacks also have a prestige value and internationalize the war in Ireland ... the British government has been successful in suppressing news about the struggle in the North ... but we have kept Ireland in the headlines, our struggle is kept in the news ... there is no safe refuge for British soldiers anywhere ...'.⁷

Another characteristic of European separatist activity is the tendency to carry out terrorist operations which could endanger innocent bystanders. Generally speaking, the attacks that these groups carry out within their

ethnic regions are discriminate and not designed intentionally to cause injuries to innocent bystanders, especially those from their own ethnic group. This tactical restraint is lifted when these groups operate outside their ethnic regions. For example, while the majority of IRA operations on the British mainland have been aimed at British military targets, many have also been directed at civilian establishments in central London: Harrods' department store, the Carlton Club, the Stock Exchange, railway and Underground stations, public parks, a concert hall, and even an international terrorism conference held in London in 1990. Many of these IRA operations in London have caused fatalities and injuries to the civilian population.⁸

The ETA has also imitated IRA tactics during its operations outside the Basque region of Spain. Most of these attacks have taken place in Spanish cities like Madrid, Barcelona, Seville, and in the Costa-del Sol area on the Mediterranean coast.⁹ The ETA's terrorist operations in Madrid were so important to the group that it has dedicated a special terrorist unit called the 'Madrid' commando to this city.¹⁰ Like the IRA, the ETA's operations in Madrid have been aimed mostly at Spanish military and government targets. However, the tactics frequently used in these attacks have been car bombings and rocket attacks, both of which have produced civilian casualties. The ETA has been even more indiscriminate in its attacks in Barcelona – the site of the 1992 Summer Olympics. For example, in June 1987, the ETA detonated a car bomb in an underground parking lot of a Barcelona supermarket, killing 18 civilians and injuring 30 others. More recently, on 30 May 1991, the ETA exploded a car filled with explosives in the courtyard of a Guardia Civil (Spanish paramilitary force) barracks outside of Barcelona. This attack killed nine people, including five children and two Guardia Civil wives. It is clear from these attacks that the IRA, the ETA, and to a lesser extent, the FLNC, believe that attacks in the capitals have more political impact and attract more international publicity than those carried out in their homelands. This impact is increased when the attacks are indiscriminate and endanger the general populace. This was essentially one of the prime motives which also compelled certain militant Palestinian nationalists to move their terrorist activity to the international arena in the late 1960s.

The second strain of terrorist activity found in Western Europe is generated by Middle Eastern terrorist groups, including those sponsored by states such as Libya, Syria, Iran, and Iraq. These groups and states used Western Europe as a substitute battleground for their feuds, political grievances, and historical conflicts. The objectives of the Middle Eastern terrorist strain vary according to the group carrying out or the state sponsoring a particular terrorist attack or campaign. Broadly speaking,

these include: (1) obtaining the release of imprisoned comrades, (2) avenging actions by other groups or states, (3) pressuring another group or state to change its policies, or (4) silencing exiled political dissidents or group traitors. The Middle Eastern terrorist threat in Western Europe differs from that posed by the European separatist groups in that the geographical range of the threat is much broader, the tactics are more indiscriminate, the targets are more often civilian, and the goals of the groups or states involved are generally related to single issues, not major changes to the European political landscape.

While the IRA, ETA, FLNC, and TL terrorist activities are limited primarily to specific ethnic regions, the Middle Eastern terrorist threat reaches throughout Western Europe. Sixteen Western European countries have been the sites of over 365 Middle Eastern terrorist incidents carried out over the past decade.¹¹ The terrorist tactics used in these incidents have included car bombings, rocket attacks, machine gun and grenade attacks, and altimeter bombs. These attacks have been aimed at commercial aircraft, airports, trains, train stations, discos, restaurants, hotels, buses, subway stations, cruise ships, shopping malls, department stores, and outdoor cafes. The common thread that runs through all these targets is that they are places or transport vehicles which are used, transited or visited by the general public. Middle Eastern groups and states do not usually have the luxury (owing to political conditions and resources) of carrying out an extended terrorist campaign against a particular Western European country in order to accomplish a particular terrorist objective.¹² As a result, they frequently resort to bloody, spectacular operations – attacks at airports, mid-air bombings or hijackings of commercial aircraft, or car bombings on the main streets of Europe's capitals – that are designed to force a state to yield to their demands. Many of these demands are generated by specific political-military issues and events relating to the Middle East. Unlike the terrorist operations of the European separatist groups or fighting communist organizations, the terrorist activity of the Middle Eastern states and groups is not aimed at accomplishing broad political changes such as regional autonomy or changing the type of political system.

Ideological Creed

To understand the goals, objectives, strategy, tactics, targeting, and world view of the European fighting communist organizations, it is necessary to examine their ideological foundation. The first point to remember is that ideology, more so than in the separatist or Middle Eastern terrorist groups operating in Europe, plays a critical role within the FCOs. Their ideo-

logical guide is Marxism-Leninism. As the CCC stated in 1985, 'what is important to emphasize is the Marxist-Leninist political foundation of our struggle'.¹³ It is the cement that binds the FCO together and a source of moral justification for 'revolutionaries' trained to commit various criminal actions.¹⁴ Marxism-Leninism shapes the fundamental nature of the FCOs. Keeping this in mind, the following 13 principles and assumptions form the core of the ideological creed of the European FCOs.

1. *The world is viewed through 'dialectical materialism', the Marxist-Leninist approach to the analysis of history.* The FCOs believe that historical progression 'is the story of "forces" which, as they develop, generate contrary forces which, in time, modify the original forces so that synthesized new forces come into being. Thus any movement (a thesis, e.g. capitalism) necessarily creates an opposed tendency (an antithesis, e.g. the proletariat) which remolds the movement along the new lines (a synthesis, e.g. communism)'.¹⁵ From a Marxist-Leninist perspective, there is an inevitability to this development. This is a key point in understanding the FCOs, for this belief essentially provides them with a 'guaranteed victory' – at some point in history.

2. *Capitalism is the root cause of all the problems of the proletariat.* The nature of capitalism is such that it produces two basic economic classes: the exploiters and the exploited. These two classes are in constant conflict, with the former always trying to maintain its dominant position (economically and politically) while the latter is attempting to dislodge it. Capitalism, in order to control the proletariat, creates conditions designed to dehumanize the workers, to isolate them. As the RAF has stated, the strategists of capitalism

are out to create also the conditions for the attack on the soul of the people and its profound deformation which isolates them from each other and builds up seemingly unbreachable walls between them ... the system of the 'free market economy' gives everyone the illusion that he might be able to secure for himself a safe place in a prosperous Greater Germany and find happiness in buying sprees, while in reality the goal is to reduce the people to stupidity and apathy through competition for ever higher consumption.¹⁶

The RAF goes on to claim that 'author R. Shernikov aptly describes the loneliness and emptiness in the life of millions of people in the rich capitalist countries: "I do not know what describes misery better than the image of a mouse in a treadmill, wearing jeans and headphones"'.¹⁷

3. *Capitalism can only be displaced by force.* The capitalists will not voluntarily surrender their dominant position. Therefore, they can only be overthrown by force. The FCOs reject the idea of a peaceful transformation of capitalism. They believe that in contemporary Europe it is impossible for the proletariat to seize power through 'peaceful parliamentary transition'. The only path to the establishment of a dictatorship of the proletariat is the path of revolutionary violence. The FCOs believe that the capitalist, imperialist state is forcing them to engage in revolutionary violence.

4. *The proletariat does not currently possess the necessary revolutionary consciousness to carry out the violent overthrow of the capitalist system.* The FCOs have no illusion that the proletariat will spontaneously rise up and overthrow the bourgeois state. They believe that the will and strength of the proletariat has been sapped by the extensive (at the economic, political and social levels) domination and repression of the capitalist, imperialist state. They see the development of the 'consumer-oriented society' as a capitalist-injected narcotic to suppress the revolutionary zeal of the proletariat. All of this has masked the true nature and intentions of capitalism. Someone must rouse the proletariat from this bourgeois-induced hypnosis and point out the 'contradictions' of the capitalist, imperialist state.

5. *The traditional communist parties have forfeited their right to represent the proletariat.* The traditional or official communist parties in Germany, France, Belgium, Spain, Italy, Greece, Portugal and Turkey have failed in their mission to mobilize the proletariat into a revolutionary mass organization that will seize power from the capitalist, imperialist state. The capitalists have forced these communist parties to play by bourgeois political rules. As a result, these communist parties have been effectively 'channeled' by the bourgeois political parties into a parliamentary process where they have no hope of defeating the ruling political parties. In time, these communist parties have assumed the cloak of respectability and legality. Their revolutionary zeal has dissipated and they have abandoned the proletariat. Moreover, these official communist parties had been weakened and disoriented by Soviet revisionist policy. The communist trade unions, another traditional organizational structure of the working class, have also been ineffective in representing the interests of the proletariat. The FCOs are also disappointed with the 'legal left' in their respective countries which they refer to as 'reformists' and 'pacifists' who do nothing but talk and criticize the elitist, violent approach of the FCOs. The FCOs believe that they are the only hope of the proletariat.

6. *The fighting communist organizations are forced to fill the revolutionary void*

left by the traditional communist parties. The proletariat does not currently have the necessary 'revolutionary consciousness' to overthrow the capitalist, imperialist state and the communist parties and trade unions in Europe have been neutralized by the bourgeois political system. Therefore, the revolutionary spark will have to come from outside the masses, from an armed vanguard of professional revolutionaries. This vanguard must consist of a hard core of highly organized, rigidly disciplined individuals. This is how the FCOs perceive themselves – with an emphasis on 'fighting'.

7. *In order to survive its present crisis, capitalism must resort to industrial 'restructuring'.* The FCOs believe that the inherent 'contradictions' of capitalism are deepening and that it must engage in industrial 'restructuring' in order to survive this present crisis. This 'restructuring' involves layoffs, closing factories, restructuring companies, 'squeezing' profits from its enterprises, breaking labor strikes, forcing the proletariat to labor in intolerable working conditions in order to maximize profits, and, more importantly, modernizing the means of production with new technologies (such as robotics, computers, telecommunications, genetic engineering, laser power). From the perspective of the FCO, all of the above are detrimental to the interests of the proletariat because these technological developments are designed to maintain the capitalist's exploitation of the proletariat.

Worldwide imperialism is producing a destructive development to ensure its position of profit and power: genocide, hunger, humiliation, uncertainty of one's existence, and comprehensive destruction create a basically uniform situation ... however, the perpetrators of this system must know that their crimes have made them bitter enemies, that they will not have any place in the world where they can be safe from the attacks of the revolutionary guerrilla units.¹⁸

8. *Imperialism is also in crisis.* Lenin has defined imperialism as the monopoly stage of capitalism. Two essential features of imperialism are: (1) the 'formation of internationalist capitalist monopolies which share the world among themselves', and (2) the completion of the 'territorial division of the whole world among the greatest capitalist powers'.¹⁹ These two elements form the lens through which the FCOs view all international military actions by the US-led imperialist bloc.

The FCOs believe that since the defeat of the United States in Vietnam, imperialism, personified by the United States, has been in a crisis. The defeat of imperialism by the Vietnamese 'liberation movement' inspired

the revolutionary forces throughout the world. The momentum has shifted to the revolutionary forces and, as a result, imperialism is trying to reverse this process and regain the strategic offensive. The FCOs believe that imperialism is preparing for the 'imperialist war' – the third imperialist war of the century. The FCOs' analysis of the world situation is that imperialism is currently in a pre-war phase. As examples of the pre-war phase, the FCOs point to the following imperialist military actions since 1973: the US invasions of Grenada and Panama, Western 'peace-keeping' forces in Beirut, French military activity in Chad, British military actions on the Falkland Islands, and the Persian Gulf war. The following represent FCO comments on the most recent imperialist military action – the 1991 Persian Gulf War:

Thus, what we are seeing in the Gulf region right now, is also the competitive struggle among the imperialist nuclear states, or among the imperialist centers for future power and influence in the Middle Eastern region and the leadership of the imperialist camp. (RAF)²⁰

The war is that of the rich, prospering and arrogant West against the scorned of the Third World in order to perpetuate inequality, exploitation, and looting of the Third World ... Therefore, this strategic attack is also a severe warning to all Third World countries, an actual lesson on what awaits anyone who dares to doubt in the future, the economic relations of exploitation and looting that the USA and North are going to impose on the South. (17N)²¹

The reality is that the US attacked Iraq, not to liberate Kuwait, but to establish its control over the Middle Eastern oil, that it wants to enslave people by usurping their resources, that it wants to convey to the world a message 'you can either obey me or you will be bombed to destruction', and that imperialist aggression does not know any boundaries. (Dev Sol)²²

The European FCOs believe that their immediate task is to prevent this build-up to an 'imperialist war' by attacking the 'current strategic projects of the political, economic, and military structure of the imperialist system in Western Europe'.²³ The purpose of these attacks is to disrupt US imperialism's war plans. As a result, the following slogan is frequently found at the beginning or end of an FCO attack communiqué: 'War Against Imperialist War!'

9. *Western Europe serves as the 'imperialist center' that is composed of a 'chain of imperialist states', fabricated by the United States.* The European FCOs see their individual countries ('imperialist states') as being links in an im-

perialist 'chain' constructed by the US and maintained by such political-military-economic structures as NATO, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the Western European Union (WEU), the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), the Atlantic Institute, the European Community (EC), the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD), and the World Bank. The purpose of these structures is the 'homogenization' of Western Europe into a US controlled 'imperialist bloc':

The central project in the present phase of the imperialist strategy is the attempt to weld the Western European states into a homogeneous structure – into a hard bloc, which is perfectly integrated into the nucleus of imperialist power ...²⁴

The FCOs believe that their 'armed struggle' in Western Europe is only one 'sector' in the fight against imperialism. Other FCOs and liberation movements are engaging imperialism in Asia, Africa, the Middle East and Latin America. The goal of the FCOs in Western Europe is to break the imperialist chain in their sector which they consider to be the most important ('the imperialist center') in the international revolutionary struggle against imperialism.

Through the wars of liberation in southeast Asia and Africa, the front has moved closer to the center of the metropolises itself and made the withdrawal of US imperialism – the so-called shifting of the strategic center of gravity to Western Europe – tactically and strategically unavoidable.²⁵

Western Europe is the cardinal point in the conflict between the international proletariat and the imperialist bourgeoisie. Because of its historic, political, and geographic character, Western Europe is the area where the three lines of demarcation meet: State/Society, North/South, and East/West.²⁶

10. *The latent, fascist tendencies of the capitalist, imperialist state must be exposed to the proletariat.* Almost all of the European FCOs surfaced in countries that had, from the FCOs' viewpoint, recent periods of fascism (totalitarian domination) or its variants:

RAF	= Hitler's regime
RB	= Mussolini's regime
GRAPO	= Franco's regime
17N	= Papadopoulos' regime
Dev Sol	= Military 'coups' in 1960, 1971 and 1980
FP-25	= Salazar's/Caetano's regimes

Only France (DA) and Belgium (CCC) have not had similar periods of fascist rule in the twentieth century. These periods of fascism influenced the ideological outlook of the FCOs.²⁷ They all believe that the current governments in their respective countries have latent characteristics of fascism. The FCOs believe that they must demonstrate to the 'passive' proletariat these fascist tendencies. Consequently, FCO terrorist attacks are designed to trigger fascist responses by the current governments. According to the RAF, 'because an objective of revolutionary action – of their tactics – at this stage of development is to force them to reaction in which the structure of repression, and of the apparatus of repression, becomes visible and tangible, and in that way provides a pretext for taking the initiative in carrying out militant, revolutionary actions'.²⁸ The anti-fascist 'theme' has been more important to groups like the FP-25 and GRAPO than to the RB and RAF who placed their ideological emphasis on the anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist themes.

11. *The revolutionary war against imperialism will be a long, protracted armed struggle.* Marxist-Leninists believe that the basic nature of capitalism produces contradictions that will eventually deepen and cause the decline of capitalism. However, the capitalist class is well entrenched (politically, economically, and militarily) and has over time, developed a consistent ability to delay its inevitable decay. The FCOs know that even though their victory over capitalism is 'inevitable', it will be a long, hard, bloody armed struggle.

They expect political and military defeats and know that they will encounter periods of inactivity ('strategic withdrawals'). The 'balance of forces' is strongly weighted toward the 'bourgeois dictatorships' in Europe. According to Frederick Oriach, a leading French communist militant and author of a major treatise on the development of the FCO entitled *Armed Struggle: The Strategic and Tactical Necessity of the Fight for the Revolution*, 'never before has there been such a disproportion between the military potential of the proletariat and the military forces of the bourgeois dictatorship ...'.²⁹

12. *The revolutionary armed struggle consists of two phases.* The first phase would be the armed propaganda phase in which three components must be developed, simultaneously if possible, and as quickly as possible. These three components are, in order of importance, (1) a revolutionary strategy, (2) a structured organization, that is a 'fighting communist organization', and (3) the initiation of armed combat. In the armed propaganda phase, the military actions of the FCO are used to 'spread revolutionary communist ideas as widely as possible'.³⁰

During this phase, the guerrilla movement obviously does not seek to defeat militarily but only to harass and step up operations which will push the bourgeois state into assuming the defensive; this is what we must go after (we must get to a point where there will be sandbags in front of every bank, where each burrow of the bosses, of the police, of the army, of the system of justice, and of the politicians will have to be surrounded with barbed wire.³¹

The second and final phase is the revolutionary civil war which is 'aimed at winning political-military victories that will in effect change the force ratio'.³² The FCOs are essentially involved in a 'holding action' until the political consciousness of the proletariat can be raised and organized into 'revolutionary mass organisms' that are really proletarian 'political-military combat organisms'.³³ The bourgeois states are aware of this threat from the 'guerrilla' and do everything they can to 'annihilate' the 'revolutionary forces' by co-ordinating the various counter-revolutionary strategies ('unified imperialist strategy') of the Western European states. This includes policies on imprisoned terrorists, anti-terrorist training, and the integration of police communication systems and computer data bases.

FIGURE 1

Key Components of a 'Fighting Communist Organization'

- * total clandestinity
- * armed
- * willingness to carry out lethal attacks
- * adherence to Marxist-Leninist ideology
- * an urban operating environment
- * cellular, compartmentalized organizational structure
- * democratic centralism in decision-making

In December 1980, a 'collective' of imprisoned Red Brigades members published a document known as the 'The Bee and the Communist'. The last part of this document has been referred to as the 'Twenty Final Theses'. This has been considered by some European terrorism analysts to be the blueprint for the European FCOs. The Belgian 'Groupe Interforces Anti-Terrorists' (GIA) has claimed that by reading the 'Twenty Final Theses' they were able to understand the strategic and tactical direction of the CCC.³⁴ In the 'Twenty Final Theses', the Red Brigades also commented on the armed propaganda phase:

On the other hand, this objective movement is interwoven with the armed propaganda initiative, which the Fighting Communist Organizations have tirelessly pursued over the past ten years, in order to

instill in the proletariat awareness of the need and the possibility of communist revolution in the imperialist metropolis.³⁵

13. *The next revolutionary stage for an FCO is the 'fighting communist party'.* After the FCOs awaken the proletariat from their bourgeois-induced slumber and raise their revolutionary consciousness, the ranks of the FCOs will increase and thus lead to the development of the 'fighting communist party' (civil war phase). This 'fighting' party will help the proletariat seize power from the capitalist, imperialist state and set up a proletarian dictatorship as a transitional phase to communism. The Red Brigades believed that some European FCOs were at a 'transitional juncture' between the armed propaganda phase and the revolutionary civil war phase. The objective of this transitional phase is to evolve from a 'fighting communist organization' to a 'fighting communist party'.

It is understood that if our organization has not hitherto realized the upgrade to *Party* status, this is not because, through direct confrontation, unity with other guerrilla formations has not been built; a confrontation that in various and contradictory forms is always pursued. The root cause is found, instead, in the still embryonic development of the objective and subjective conditions of the revolutionary process that do not permit the 'upgrade' from a political-military vanguard, which essentially establishes a 'propaganda' relationship with the masses, to an organic political-military vanguard, which directs and organizes the political and military struggle of class layers.³⁶

No European FCO has to date publicly acknowledged that it has made the 'upgrade' from FCO to fighting communist party. Of all the FCOs, the Red Brigades, during the late 1970s and early 1980s had come closest to establishing a fighting communist party in Italy. Currently, only DEV SOL is in the position possibly to evolve into a FCP. The RAF, 17N, and GRAPO are far from this stage of development.

The above 13 ideological components shape the worldview of the FCOs. If one can understand how the FCOs view the world around them, then it is possible to predict how they will respond to certain domestic and international events or issues. The FCOs refer to this response or attack as an 'intervention'. Given the nature (political, economic, military) of the event or issue, it may also be possible to anticipate a targeting sector (domestic military, foreign military, domestic business, foreign business, domestic political, diplomatic, judicial, law enforcement, etc.) from which the next victim will come. In essence, (1) understanding the importance of ideology for the FCOs and (2) comprehending their ideological creed, will

contribute to a more accurate 'reading' of the motives and intentions of the FCOs.

Operational Characteristics

Of the three terrorist strains found in Western Europe, only the FCO strain has sought to change the European political landscape by attempting to overthrow the democratic governments in Western Europe. The geographical scope of the FCO terrorist threat has been larger than the European separatist groups but not as broad as the Middle Eastern terrorist threat. FCOs do not limit their operations to particular regions within countries, but prefer to carry out their activities throughout the targeted country. However, twice in the 1980s, some FCOs tried to form a regional alliance in order to co-ordinate their selection of targets. In 1985, the RAF and DA set up an 'anti-imperialist front of West European guerrillas' that ultimately failed to attract any other FCOs. In 1988, after the neutralization of DA in France, the RAF and RB/PCC ('for the construction of the fighting communist party' faction) attempted to construct a second anti-imperialist front. This attempt also failed for similar reasons: (1) no other European FCO joined this front, and (2) the RB was neutralized by police arrests in late 1988. This has been the last attempt by the FCOs in Western Europe to 'regionalize' or co-ordinate FCO terrorist activity.

The following are common operational characteristics of the FCOs which have operated in Western Europe:

1. The primary methods of obtaining finances for an FCO is by 'proletarian expropriation', that is, by robbing banks, postal vans, armored bank vans, etc., or by carrying out kidnapping for ransom. While FCOs publicly claim credit for their kidnapping, it is rare for an FCO to claim credit for incidents of proletarian expropriation. Consider the following quotations:

Banks steal from people through public debt and a thousand forms of pillage, and revolutionaries expropriate from the banks and repay the people the money confiscated through the struggle for socialism. There is nothing more honorable than that.³⁷

Taking money away is as political as any other armed operation, it being indispensable for that and for concretizing the organization. Action Directe never got funds from the Bulgarians, the KGB, the established organizations. Self-financing is a task that has to be solved historically. We are methodical and strict about that. More-

over, in the first phase, expropriating is an indispensable arms operation for militants. 'What is more criminal - owning a bank or robbing a bank?'³⁸

2. FCOs will generally refrain from carrying out terrorist operations that could endanger innocent bystanders. This is why most FCO attacks are either close-quarter assassinations or controlled car bombs. A 'controlled' car bomb is one which is detonated in an area where there are few passers-by and/or is remotely but manually detonated. This latter condition allows the group to abort the attack if there are innocent bystanders nearby. The following quotations are from the RAF and the CCC:

The actions of the urban guerrillas are directed against the institutions of the state, of the upper classes, against imperialism and against capital. They are never directed against the working population or against people who have nothing to do with the crime of imperialism.³⁹

How then could the Fighting Communist Cells have planned a political and military action aimed at injuring or killing workers? Why would it have done this? To what end? With what in mind? Such madness would have been completely contrary to its principles and own *raison d'être*.⁴⁰

3. FCO terrorist attacks are not arbitrarily or spontaneously planned or carried out. Considerable thought is given to the political 'message' of the attack. FCOs do not strike blindly. Each attack carries a political message which in turn is usually part of a broader campaign theme. This is called the 'line of attack'. If one is to predict what an FCO will do next, early detection of the line of attack is important.

4. FCOs will not engage in suicide operations or attacks that involve a high amount of risk. Considerable planning is given to the safe escape of the attack team. This is why so few members of European FCOs have been arrested during or immediately after an attack. Its not that no suicidal tendencies surface in the FCOs. Such tendencies, however, are limited to prison hunger strikes or, as in the suicides of the historical leadership of the RAF in 1977, depression brought on by many years of imprisonment and several failed attempts by their supporters to secure their release.

5. Given that most FCOs have a small number of hardcore personnel (fewer than 25), the number of attacks carried out per year by an FCO is generally low.

6. Given the small number of hardcore personnel in an FCO, these groups can be neutralized rather quickly by police arrests. Most FCOs are generally composed of one to three cells. The exceptions have been the RB and DEV SOL.

7. Excluding incidents of 'proletarian expropriation' and thefts of documents, weapons, explosives, and other materials, FCOs will always publicly claim responsibility for their offensive operations – even those that fail. Moreover, FCOs do not normally claim credit for an attack they did not carry out.

8. The targets of FCOs are primarily prominent personalities who are perceived as symbols, representatives, or decision-makers in government, business, politics, and the judicial or law-enforcement sectors (see section on targets). Unlike the European separatist groups, FCOs do not focus their attacks on the military. American representatives or 'agents of imperialism and capitalism' also are frequently targeted. As a rule, European separatist groups do not target US officials or businessmen but direct their attacks primarily at low-level members of the military and security forces of the 'forces of occupation'. Middle Eastern groups generally target facilities where Americans congregate (hotels, restaurants, USO clubs, embassies, discos, aircraft, etc.). The one exception to this rule was the Lebanese Armed Revolutionary Faction (LARF) which attacked several US diplomats in France during 1981–84.

9. Given the common international nature of FCO targets (imperialism, capitalism, fascism), the European FCO views Europe as one, albeit important, sector in the worldwide struggle against imperialism. Consequently, there is a tendency for FCOs to show solidarity (by, for instance, sympathetic hunger strikes by prisoners, protests by sympathizers, terrorist attacks) with other FCOs in Europe. In some cases, FCOs have even attempted to form a regional alliance, or what they called an 'anti-imperialist front of West European guerrillas'.

10. Given the anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist, anti-American ideological base of the FCOs, these groups are also likely to react or respond to international events which demonstrate the 'aggressive and opportunistic nature of imperialism and capitalism'. This means that certain international events or developments could trigger FCO terrorist activity. For example, during the Persian Gulf war, the RAF, 17N, and DEV SOL carried out attacks against Western targets to show solidarity with the 'peoples of Iraq'. European separatist groups march to a domestic agenda.

The Middle Eastern groups or states march to an international agenda. But the FCOs are sensitive to both domestic and international issues and events.

Target Preferences

The majority of the FCO terrorist attacks are directed against persons who are considered to be 'symbols', decision-makers, 'strategists', and 'representatives' of the imperialist state, capitalism, and fascism. Occasional operations are also aimed at facilities belonging to these three targeting sectors. However, the leitmotif of FCO terrorist operations is the targeting of prominent personalities. The following list contains a sampling of FCO operations against prominent European and American personalities and an explanation by the responsible FCO as to why it targeted that particular person.

1. In Obourg, Belgium, on 25 June 1979, an RAF commando attempted to assassinate the then NATO Commander in Chief, US Army General Alexander Haig. Why Haig?

We carried out this action because Haig presents and executes with specific accuracy the 'new course' or the 'modified style' of the American strategy ... what Haig called the 'modified strategy' demands from the integrated Western European states in the 'European project,' which is chaired by the FRG, nothing more than the final functioning for the US global strategy.⁴¹

2. In Heidelberg, Germany, on 15 September 1981, an RAF commando attempted to assassinate the Commander in Chief of the US Army in Europe, General Frederick Kroesen. Why Kroesen?

He is one of the US Generals who actually control imperialist policies in Western Europe to the Gulf, because he is the one who will decide on the use and means in case of confrontation. He decides on conventional devastation and determines when and where neutron warheads are fired. Next to Rogers, he is the strategist who will be called from the battle line in Europe to the Pentagon, as for instance in case of a decision in favor of intervention in Iran.⁴²

3. In Verona, Italy, on 17 December 1981, the Red Brigades kidnapped US Army General James Dozier. Why Dozier?

This pig, this murderer is a 'hero' of the American massacres in Vietnam, where he earned several 'awards' for his 'merits'. His long career as a pig brought him where imperialism needed to repress and smother people's liberation fights, to prepare occupation and provocation plans on behalf of his masters. His latest assignment, interrupted by revolutionary forces, is the actual command of Allied South Forces in Southern Europe (LANDSOUTH) ... the pig Dozier must respond to the international proletariat for the use and functions of this apparatus.⁴³

4. In Rome, Italy, on 15 February 1984, a RB attack group assassinated Mr Leamon Hunt, an American diplomat who was serving as the Director General of the Multinational Force and Observers (MFO) in the Sinai. Why Hunt?

This pig had a great deal of 'experience' in the dirty work that Yankee imperialists perform daily in every part of the world. His 'curriculum vitae' is significant evidence of this fact: he went from Jerusalem to Turkey, from Ceylon to Ethiopia, from Costa Rica to Lebanon, and in 1974 he became Kissinger's deputy assistant ... Putting an end to the miserable existence of this dirty servant of imperialism has been an honor for our organization and at the same time a duty towards the international revolutionary process. Why did we attack Ray Leamon Hunt? What is the function and meaning of the multinational force and observers? The function of this military force, in which an Italian contingent also participates (not by chance), is safeguarding US interests in the Middle East through an agreement between Egypt and Israel against the Palestinian people, financed by billions of dollars.⁴⁴

5. In Paris, France, on 25 January 1985, a DA commando assassinated General René Audran, the director of international affairs at the French Ministry of Defense. Why Audran?

We executed Audran not only because of his job. He was the main spokesman of the Ministry of Defense ... through his military and economic role, he was at the heart of the strategic plan of the imperialists at the centers, at the heart of homogenization of the European states under the control of NATO.⁴⁵

6. In Paris, France, on 15 April 1986, a DA commando attempted to assassinate Guy Brana, the Vice-President of the National Council of French Employers (CNPF). Why Brana?

Guy Brana, Vice-President of the CNPF and President of the economic commission, is, as a result of his various positions, one of the principal linchpins of French economic and industrial policy in the development of the global revolutionary strategy. A 'PIS [public industrial sector] man' in the employers' triumvirate, manager at the Thompson military industrial multinational corporation, and member of the industrial relations committee of the National Scientific Research Center, Brana represents and runs the PIS/'business party' bloc, a moving force of the general 'anti-crisis' strategy which means cartelization, technological and industrial concentration, Reagan market economy, flexibility, social deregulation, wage policy individualization, and anti-worker repression inside and outside the factory ...⁴⁶

7. In Athens, Greece, on 1 March 1988, a 17N commando assassinated Alexandros Athanasiadis, a Greek industrialist. Why Athanasiadis?

One of the most important capitalist complexes of the lmat [author's note: luben megalostiki taxis = lumpen grand bourgeois class] which followed this policy is the Bodosakis-Athanasiadis group. Today it is run by Bodosakis' nephew and major heir, major shareholder of the group, Alexandros Athanasiadis Bodosakis ... he is responsible for all the above crimes against the labor class ... he is responsible for all the frauds of the complex against the country ... he is the classic example of the capitalist of the lmat ... Middle Age-type exploitation, indifference over the health of the workers and for the environment ... high profits, low salaries, low productivity ... debts, swindles, parallel bankruptcy and typical abandonment of certain businesses and continuation of the exploitation of others.⁴⁷

8. In Frankfurt, Germany, on 30 November 1989, an RAF commando assassinated Alfred Herrhausen, the Chairman of the Deutsche Bank. Why Herrhausen?

The history of the bank bears the bloody traces of two world wars and millions of cases of exploitation, and carrying on the tradition, Herrhausen was at the head of this power center of German industry; he was the most powerful economic chief in Europe ... under Herrhausen's leadership, Deutsche Bank has become the largest bank in Europe and is dominating economic and political development ... it has thrown its net over all of Western Europe and heads the fascist capital structure against which everyone has to make his way ... for years it has been preparing for breaking into the

East European countries; now it and others are lying in wait to subject the people there, too, to the dictate and logic of capitalist exploitation.⁴⁸

9. In Zaragoza, Spain, on 27 March 1990, a GRAPO commando assassinated Dr José Ramon Munoz Fernandez, Chief of Internal Medicine at the Miguel Servet Hospital and responsible for the care of two imprisoned GRAPO members on a hunger strike. Why Dr Munoz?

He is one of the medical leaders who has been most involved in applying force-feedings to political prisoners of the PCE-r and GRAPO, on a hunger strike since 30 November 1989 ... Dr. Jose Ramon Munoz Fernandez was one of the instruments used, not only in attempting to break the strike, but also in forcing other professionals to accept this criminal policy that, hypocritically, they have portrayed as 'respect for life'.⁴⁹

10. In Athens, Greece, on 20 November 1990, a 17N commando attempted to kill Vardis Vardinoyannis, a Greek shipping magnate. Why Vardinoyannis?

We dedicate our action today to the anonymous seaman who for a lifetime has suffered unheard of tribulations far away from his land and his relatives, has been harassed, tortured, maimed, and killed, so that certain Mafiosi and gangsters who call themselves shipowners can acquire legendary wealth with which today they run the country by having the political power under their command. One of the most important and powerful conglomerates of the local lumpen capitalist class today is the Vardinoyannis complex ... that faithfully following the brilliant traditions of the gangster Mafia of the shipowners like Onassis, Niarchos, Andreadis, Latsis, and company, amassed in a few years huge financial power and, consequently, political power which allows it to rule and control summits of real political power in our country.⁵⁰

11. In Istanbul, Turkey, on 22 March 1991, a DEV SOL 'armed revolutionary unit' assassinated John Gandy, the American manager of Vinnel-Brown-Root. Why Gandy?

We will continue aiming at imperialist bases, US installations, agents and officials, unless the imperialist murderers take their hands off our country and leave. We will not consent to the turning of Turkish

lands into the arsenal and war base of the imperialists in the Middle East. We will render the imperialist murderers and their collaborators incapable of residing and living in our country ... we carried out the action of punishing the manager of TUSLOG and the American Vinnel-Brown-Root (VBR) and NATO courier John Gandy for this reason.⁵¹

12. In Düsseldorf, Germany, on 1 April 1991, an RAF commando assassinated Detlev Rohwedder, Chief of the Treuhandanstalt (Trusteeship Office for East German State Property). Why Rohwedder?

For twenty years, Rohwedder occupied key positions on the political and economic scene ... he played a key role at that time in the deal with the fascist South African regime, trading knowhow for the construction of nuclear bombs for South African uranium for the FRG nuclear industry ... he also always sought and found ways for the smooth implementation of innumerable, frequently secret, arms exports to fascist regimes in the Third World ... the crowning of Rohwedder's career was to be his position as Bonn's governor in East Berlin. Since its annexation by the FRG, the ex-GDR has been practically a colony of the Federal Republic: the political, economic, and military centers of decision are in Bonn or with West German corporations.⁵²

As these samples of FCO attacks indicate, the potential victim must be in a position of power or influence. According to the Red Brigades, there must always be

a *selective logic* in attacks, a 'surgeon's hand', by virtue of the simple fact that this is the optimal way to maximize political results. It is easy to understand that not all people or dens have the same strategic importance for the imperialist state, that not every attack imaginable or possible deepens and extends the internal contradictions of the enemy in the same manner. To open contradictions within the enemy, to block their recomposition, to excite them with a relentless, continuous, exhausting offensive are the undeniable goals that may be attained only through selective attacks.⁵³

Propaganda and Literature

Of the three strains of terrorist activity found in Western Europe, the groups in the FCO and separatist strains are the most prolific in producing written propaganda, especially 'communiqués'. Middle Eastern terrorist

elements which have been active in Western Europe have rarely issued written communiqués explaining why they carried out a particular attack. This is most likely due to the fact that the motive and message behind a Middle Eastern attack is much more esoteric and focused than those of the European FCO and separatist strains. Middle Eastern terrorist groups operating in Western Europe are either acting for the group's vested interests or on behalf of a Middle Eastern state. If they are acting for a Middle Eastern state it is doubtful that any written communiqué will be issued. The group will either not claim credit for the attack or make a cursory phone call to a Western news agency in Europe or Beirut. Even in the latter case there is always the possibility that the verbal statement explaining the attack is being made to 'disinform'. This is logical since a Middle Eastern state would naturally want to camouflage its involvement in the attack.

Even where a Middle Eastern group is pursuing its own interests, it is unlikely that a written communiqué will be issued. The group will frequently claim credit by means of an anonymous phone call with one or two sentences of explanation. The one Middle Eastern terrorist group which did not conform to this pattern was the LARF. This group issued several written communiqués (some handwritten!) explaining why they attacked US and Israeli diplomatic personnel in France. However, the LARF has, to date, been an exception to the rule that Middle Eastern groups operating in Western Europe do not issue written claims of responsibility. This of course makes it more difficult to analyse the motives behind the scores of Middle Eastern terrorist attacks which have taken place in Western Europe over the past 23 years.

The European separatist groups issue numerous written communiqués justifying their terrorist operations. The most prolific have been the IRA and the ETA. The IRA sends its communiqués to the Irish Press Agency in Dublin. They are always signed by the fictitious 'P. O'Neill'. These communiqués are sometimes reprinted in *An Phoblacht* (Republican News), the weekly newspaper of the IRA's political arm, Sinn Féin (Ourselves Alone). Since Sinn Féin is a legal political party, the IRA has access to the propaganda organs of Sinn Féin. The ETA also issues written communiqués for its terrorist attacks. These are usually sent to *Egin*, a Basque daily newspaper in the Basque region which generally publishes extensive excerpts from the communiqués. The full texts of ETA's communiqués can be found in *Zuezen* (Law), an internal ETA publication. Like the IRA, the ETA has a political arm, Herri Batasuna (Popular Unity) which is a legal political party in the Basque region. The IRA and the ETA do not depend solely on their event-related (or attack) communiqués to get their message out to their supporters. They both have

legitimate political parties to spread their propaganda. This is an immense advantage over the FCOs which do not have this propaganda outlet.

The FCOs have four major propaganda outlets: the attack communiqué, the strategic tract, the commentary communiqué, and the underground journals and newspapers. The attack communiqué is a written declaration issued shortly after a terrorist attack in which the FCO explains why the attack was carried out and why the target was selected. The communiqué can range in length from one to 15 typewritten pages and usually contains the logo of the responsible group. Since an FCO does not want to provide the police with any evidence, it rarely issues a handwritten communiqué. An attack communiqué is either left at the attack site, sent to a 'favorite' newspaper or wire service, or deposited elsewhere (the RB liked to leave their attack communiqués in trash bins). There is an innate political need for FCOs to justify and explain their actions. These actions must be 'correct'. According to Frederich Oriach:

... correct as a function of their political effectiveness; this is done by attacking sufficiently selective targets so that the majority of the population will not feel like it is being attacked. Armed actions must trigger the approval of the proletarian strata which appear to us to be those that are most charged with revolutionary potential ... at the time of each armed action, and at the time of each written or oral expression, extending from the bomb to the simple tract, one must obligatorily determine, with the utmost precision, whom one is really addressing ...⁵⁴

The FCO, more than any other strain of terrorist group, devotes a considerable amount of time to the selection of the 'correct' target and the political message it wishes to send with the attack. Keep in mind also that FCO operations are not as frequent as the separatist groups. Consequently, the FCO has a limited amount of opportunities to 'communicate' with the proletariat. It must make each attack count. This is why the attack communiqué is so important to the FCO.⁵⁵

The second propaganda outlet for an FCO is the 'strategic tract'. This is a longer document (25–200 pages) that is periodically issued to provide strategic guidelines or changes in strategy to group members, supporters, sympathizers and other elements in the leftist milieu. This also provides the FCO with an opportunity to reaffirm its Marxist-Leninist credentials with other European FCOs. The Red Brigades used this particular propaganda outlet the most, issuing one or two 'strategic resolutions' (also called 'Strategic Directives' or 'Resolutions of the Strategic Directorate') every year (the last, No. 20, in 1985). Each strategic resolution was numbered. The RAF issued its last strategic tract, 'The Guerilla, Resis-

tance, and the Anti-Imperialist Front', in May 1982. In 1991, the RAF hinted that it might be issuing another, updated strategic tract.⁵⁶ However, by January 1992, this tract had not appeared. The CCC distributed a strategic tract or 'position paper' on 1 May 1985 with a 46-page document labeled 'Concerning the Armed Struggle'. And DA has published several strategic tracts in *L'Internationale*, a French leftist journal.

The third propaganda outlet for the FCO is the 'commentary communiqué'. This is a special communiqué which provides commentary on an event or situation that is not related to an offensive operation. Such events or situations may include the death or arrest of a comrade, the initiation of a hunger strike by imprisoned comrades, explanations for a group's inactivity, trial statements by group members, expressions of solidarity with other European FCOs, and comments on a national election or scandal. Of all the FCOs, the RAF and 17N have issued the most commentary communiqués. The RAF frequently comments on the arrests of alleged RAF members. The 17N issues special communiqués during national elections in Greece or on political scandals in the government.

Probably the most unusual commentary communiqué ever issued by a European FCO was the late April 1985 document by the CCC entitled 'Concrete Answers to Concrete Questions'. This particular FCO document is unique because it lacks the Marxist-Leninist jargon which permeates most FCO communiqués and it also provides interesting and valuable operational insights into the CCC. For obvious reasons, FCO communiqués rarely furnish detailed operational information on the group. A good analyst can detect some bits and slices of information which might be used in putting together a tentative operational picture of the group. However, the CCC document provides detailed information on certain operational aspects of the group. A certain audacity and disdain for the Belgian police and media emanates from this document. Because of its uniqueness, this entire CCC document has been included in the chapter on this group. Ironically, this CCC document opens with the statement that 'this document is the one we are tempted to call the least important'.

The last propaganda outlet for the FCOs is the numerous Marxist-Leninist revolutionary journals and underground newspapers that have appeared in Western Europe over the past 20 years. The most notable have been: *Ligne Rouge* (Belgium), *Il Bollettino* (Italy), *L'Internationale* (France), *Correspondances Revolutionnaires* (Belgium), *Knipselkrant* (the Netherlands), *Clash* (the Netherlands), *Subversion* (Belgium), *Area Critica* (Spain), *Rebelles* (France), *Espurnall* (Spain) and *Radikal* (Germany). These publications function as clearing-houses for FCO communiqués and vehicles for ideological debates. Except for 17N and DEV SOL, all of

the other FCO attack communiqués have appeared in these publications. Many are sold openly in leftist bookstores in Paris, Barcelona, Brussels, Frankfurt, Berlin, Rome, and the Hague. Since many FCO attack communiqués are rarely published in conventional newspapers (exceptions: CCC and 17N), the above revolutionary journals are one of the few places to read the entire text of an FCO attack communiqué. These sources also contain letters and statements from imprisoned FCO members throughout Western Europe. Imprisoned members of DA, the CCC, GRAPO, and the RAF maintain active prison fronts which continue to propagandize their cause from jail. These prisoner letters also provide insight into the internal debates which are continuously flourishing among these groups. The FCO prison fronts are known for their extensive debates through correspondence.

There are also underground journals and newspapers that are directly linked to the various FCOs. For example, since 1984, the RAF has published twelve regular issues and eight special issues of *Zusammen Kaempfen: Zeitung für die antiimperialistische Front in Westeuropa* (Fighting Together: Newspaper for the Anti-Imperialist Front in Western Europe). This underground publication is essential reading for anyone trying to gain insights into the current ideological state of the RAF. The most recent issue of *Zusammen Kaempfen* was distributed illegally in August 1990. The CCC, whose founder, Pierre Carrette, was the editor of *Ligne Rouge*, essentially used this journal as its unofficial mouthpiece. GRAPO, the only FCO which is connected to an underground political party, the Communist Party of Spain – Reconstituted, or PCE(r) in Spanish, uses *Resistencia*, the underground journal of the PCE(r) as its propaganda organ. And DEV SOL has its own underground publication, *Mucadele* (Struggle), in addition to several more open publications in Germany and the Netherlands.

All of these legal and underground journals provide a propaganda channel for the European FCOs to communicate with their supporters and sympathizers.⁵⁷ They also provide a forum for the exchange of opinions concerning the condition and direction of the revolutionary movement in Western Europe. Lastly, they allow the FCOs to know what other FCOs are doing throughout Western Europe. Some small European publishing houses have also occasionally published, in book or pamphlet form, a collection of FCO documents. For example, two volumes of RAF documents (attack communiqués, strategic tracts, commentary communiqués, prisoners' letters, trial statements) have been published by Swedish, Dutch and Italian publishers. A collection of all CCC communiqués has also been published in Belgium. Moreover, the leader of DEV SOL, Dursun Karatas, compiled a massive (two volumes, 1,159

pages) treatise on DEV SOL's revolutionary strategy entitled *Hakliyiz Kazanacagiz* (We Are Right, We Will Win), which was published in 1989.

As all of the above publications indicate, there is sufficient written material by the European FCOs for the student, analyst or academic, to try to understand the origins, goals, strategies, current condition and direction of the various Marxist-Leninist terrorist groups that have operated in Western Europe over the past two decades. Although riddled with Marxist-Leninist jargon and specialized leftist terminology, an FCO attack communiqué or strategic tract are important windows into the group's mindset and world view. The strategic tract will provide the analyst or student with the FCOs ideological map of where it is going. The attack communiqué can signal the stops, detours and troubles along the route.

Military and Ideological Problems

In 1985, the high watermark for the FCO threat in Western Europe, there were seven FCOs active in Germany, France, Belgium, Italy, Portugal, and Greece. These seven FCOs were the RAF, DA, FP-25, 17N, CCC, and two factions of the Red Brigades ('Union of Communist Combatants' or UCC and the 'Communist Combatant Party' or PCC). DEV SOL had not yet reorganized in Turkey and GRAPO was weakened by police arrests. It was also in 1985 that the RAF and DA set up an 'anti-imperialist front of Western European guerrillas' that was designed to co-ordinate the FCO 'line of attack' throughout Western Europe, aimed primarily at NATO political-military structures. The various terrorist activities of these seven FCOs in 1985 and the RAF/DA threat of organizing all the FCOs into a European 'front' prompted the European press to refer to these developments as the 'Euroterrorism' threat.⁵⁸

Three years later, in 1988, there were only four active FCOs in Western Europe. Police arrests had neutralized both factions of the RB, the FP-25, CCC, and DA. To the surprise of many analysts, the CCC and DA each had only four hardcore terrorists. The FP-25 was also hit by police arrests of its leadership cadre and suffered internal ideological controversies. Both factions of the RB had fewer than 20 members each and arrests in 1987-88 in Paris, Barcelona, Milan, and Rome, effectively crippled both factions. By the end of 1988, only the RAF, 17N, and the reorganized GRAPO and DEV SOL were active on the terrorist scene. These four groups are still active in 1992. It should also be noted that the RAF, GRAPO, and DEV SOL had previously been neutralized by police arrests. However, these groups were able to reorganize and return to the 'armed struggle'. Since no member of 17N has ever been arrested, this

group has not yet had to regroup its forces. Moreover, the RB, CCC, DA and FP-25 appear to have been permanently taken off the terrorist chessboard in Western Europe. Why have these groups not been able to reorganize?

There appear to be three key elements which an FCO must possess in order to survive the police arrests of its leadership cadre. The first is an active 'prison front', that is, imprisoned members who are still dedicated to the concept of the armed struggle. This means that members of the group, although in prison, are still actively involved in fostering the original aims of the group. Group operational leaders on the outside become leaders in the prisons and are responsible for maintaining group cohesiveness in the prisons. When the imprisoned members are released, they usually return to the armed struggle. This has particularly been the case for members of GRAPO and DEV SOL. The second element is a dedicated circle of supporters and sympathizers who will not get discouraged when hardcore members and leaders are arrested. This also applies to GRAPO and DEV SOL, but in particular to the RAF whose arrested operational leaders have frequently been given life sentences. Consequently, the possibility of RAF leaders returning to the armed struggle on the outside is rather remote. The RAF has survived because its supporters and sympathizers have always produced new operational leaders who continue to lead the group on the outside. These new operational leaders have also received the advice and/or direction of imprisoned RAF leaders who sometimes act as a 'brains trust' or, more recently, as a 'board of directors'. The third and final element is ideological unity within the FCO. The RAF, GRAPO, 17N, and DEV SOL have not suffered any major ideological schisms or serious operational disagreements.

These three elements are necessary to ensure the continued survival of an FCO once its leadership cadre has been arrested and sent to jail. The RB, CCC, DA, and FP-25 have been lacking one or two of these elements and therefore have not been able to reorganize – at least by mid-1992. It is doubtful that any of these groups will be active on the European scene again. Even though the imprisoned leadership of the DA and CCC have not renounced the armed struggle, neither group has a viable sympathizer base to build on. The majority of the imprisoned FP-25 members, including several members of the prison leadership, renounced the armed struggle in February 1990 in a two-page document entitled 'For A Political Solution to the FUP/FP-25 Trial'. This document stated that 'in these recent years, the citizens participating in the practice of armed struggle will have understood the inconsistency in continuing this type of struggle, because given Portuguese society for the present, this practice is ill-adapted to the achievement of our strategic goals'.⁵⁹ Only the RB has a

sufficient sympathizer base and potentially active prison front to renew the armed struggle in Italy. The main problem with the RB is that it is currently embroiled in a paralysing ideological debate on the future direction of the group.

Ideological debates and strategic disagreements have played a large role in the development of the fighting communist movement in Western Europe. These disputes can create problems for the FCOs. Both DA and the RB have suffered organizational divisions as a result of internal ideological and strategic controversies. DA split in 1982 primarily over whether or not the group should internationalize its activities. The result was the formation of what the press referred to as the 'international' and 'national' wings of DA. It was the international wing, led by Jean-Marc Rouillan, that fell under the influence of the RAF and together they set up the first 'anti-imperialist front' in Western Europe in January 1985. There were also other minor ideological disagreements between the two factions as well as a personality conflict between the leaders of the two factions.

The RB experienced several internal ideological and strategic disagreements during the early 1980s. In October 1984, one of these disputes finally resulted in an organizational split which by October 1985 had produced two RB factions: the RB/UCC and RB/PCC. This particular dispute was over the relationship of the RB to the masses. The UCC (also called the 'second position') believed in a decentralized armed struggle where the revolutionary vanguard was to develop and work *in concert* with the politicalization of the masses.⁶⁰ The PCC (or 'first position') felt that an FCO should be an elite revolutionary vanguard that would *lead* the masses to the seizure of power. The PCC also believed in a more 'internationalist' approach to the armed struggle in Italy, while the UCC, like the national wing of DA, wanted to focus on Italian domestic themes. Consequently, the RB/PCC, like the international wing of DA, joined the RAF in mid-1988 in trying to establish a second 'anti-imperialist' front in Western Europe. The RAF/DA initial attempt in 1985 failed when (1) no other FCOs would join the front, and (2) the entire leadership of DA was arrested near Orleans, France in February 1987. The second RAF/RB-PCC anti-imperialist front also failed when the entire leadership cadre of the RB/PCC was arrested in September 1988.

In addition to ideological and strategic disputes within the FCOs, there were also similar problems among the FCOs. As the two oldest, most active, and most notorious FCOs in Western Europe, the RAF and RB (pre-1984 split) were the major theoretical architects of the concept of a European front of FCOs. However, it was the RAF which was the first to translate this concept into action. The RAF convinced the international wing of DA to join it in establishing the first front in 1985. Other European

FCOs, however, criticized this front (essentially for its 'anarchist base') and refused to join. In late 1984, the RB was preoccupied with the organizational split mentioned above. Although the RB believed that the RAF/DA front did not have a sound ideological base, its refusal to join the front was probably more a result of internal organizational problems.

The CCC and GRAPO/PCE(r), however, had serious ideological problems with the RAF/DA front. The CCC, which adopted the RB approach to the armed struggle, felt that both DA and the RAF were not following a Marxist-Leninist line. In an April 1987 interview, the four imprisoned members of the CCC made the following comments:

Let's take Action Directe for instance. Considering the development of its speech, we felt in 1983 that a possibility of political unity existed. Debates proved that this was not the case and that too wide a gap separated our Marxist-Leninist line and Action Directe's anarchist line. From that moment on, contact was broken off.⁶¹

In that same interview, the CCC went on to align themselves with the GRAPO/RB bloc within the FCO movement:

It is clear that we carefully study the experiences of the armed struggle for communism elsewhere in Europe: and we pay most attention to the struggles which, like our own, rigorously follow the principles of Marxism-Leninism. The Red Brigades in Italy and the PCE and GRAPO in Spain ... this is why we continuously encourage all our comrades, all those for whom the proletarian struggle is not an empty work, to read the texts of those organizations.

However, the PCE(r) and GRAPO were the most vocal and prolific in their criticism of the RAF, DA, and the 'anti-imperialist front'. In March 1987, they even published a 127-page pamphlet entitled 'Texts for the Debate in the European Revolutionary Movement' that outlined their concerns:

At heart, what is involved is the existence of significant differences in the assessment of the character of the European revolution, proletarian internationalism, the political organization of the masses, the role and objectives of the armed guerrilla struggle, strategy, tactics, etc. ... this examination will allow us to demonstrate that the 'anti-imperialists' do not have a Communist political program, that their tactics consists of 'anti-imperialist', anti-USA, anti-NATO activities and that their objectives and ideological positions held, far

from representing those of the working class, rather are consistent with class positions held by significant sectors of the petite bourgeois.⁶²

In commenting on the arguments presented by the PCE(r) and GRAPO in the above document, certain RB elements from the UCC political line agreed with the criticism by GRAPO: 'we also consider the criticism of the subjectivist extremism of the "anti-imperialists" to be accurate'.⁶³ It appears that beginning in 1985, the FCO movement in Europe was divided into two camps: the 'anti-imperialists' and the 'Marxist-Leninists'. At the time, the positions of the FP-25 and 17N were not announced, and DEV SOL was in a 'strategic withdrawal'. The alignment would be as follows:

'Anti-Imperialists'
 • RAF
 • DA (international)
 • RB (PCC)

'Marxist-Leninists'
 • GRAPO
 • CCC
 • RB (UCC)
 • DA (national)

'Non-Aligned'
 • 17N
 • FP-25
 • DEV SOL

It is important to realize that although the FCOs follow common Marxist-Leninist principles and share certain operational characteristics, they have not been able to develop and agree to a unified strategy for the European revolutionary movement. The fear in 1985 that the FCOs would construct a regional alliance and coordinate their terrorist activities was unfounded. Careful reading of FCO texts in 1985 and afterwards would have indicated the serious ideological differences within and between the FCOs. These groups may agree on the desired ultimate destination of their armed struggles, but there are substantial differences on which road to take, how fast to go, and what is the best vehicle to get there.

The question naturally arises as to what effect the fall of the communist regimes in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union and their subsequent repudiation of Marxism-Leninism as a ruling ideology will have on the European FCOs. The most salient effect will most likely be a shrinkage in the number of sympathizers. Marxism-Leninism, as a fashionable ideology for the European youth, was already waning during the 1980s. The events in the former Eastern Bloc countries during 1989-91 only confirmed the growing crisis of Marxism-Leninism. The

fact that groups like the CCC, DA, FP-25, and the Red Brigades have not been able to rejuvenate their respective armed struggles strongly suggests that the sympathizer and supporter circles of the FCO is gradually drying up. However, it is important to note here that many of the imprisoned hard-core members of the CCC, DA, FP-25, and Red Brigades have not given up on Marxism-Leninism or the need for the armed struggle. The dedicated, disciplined, militant communists who make up the hard core of these terrorist groups are less likely to abandon the armed struggle than their sympathizers.

The surviving, active FCOs (RAF, 17N, GRAPO, Dev Sol) continue to carry out their terrorist activities. The FCOs interpretation of events in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union is that Marxism-Leninism has not failed, only its Stalinist deviation. These events have only postponed the inevitable triumph of the proletariat. The ideology is correct. The men who implemented it were wrong. In an attack communiqué issued on 12 October 1989, the 17N group in Greece presented the FCO interpretation of the fall of the Soviet-led East Bloc:

First of all, what is happening in these countries consists of the ruin of Stalinism and not socialism. We have also said in the past that it was not the labor class that was in power in these countries but a bureaucratic, technocratic and party labor aristocracy that had imposed itself on the labor class with undemocratic, violent and bloody methods.

It is clear however, that, except for Dev Sol, the support and sympathizer circles of the RAF, GRAPO and 17N have not grown over the past several years. GRAPO appears to be close to extinction. Only the RAF, 17N and Dev Sol have any chance of surviving into the late 1990s. These three groups are essentially the last dinosaurs of the FCO era in Western Europe.

Conclusions and Projections

The FCO terrorist threat in Western Europe has existed, to various degrees, from 1970 to the present (1992). During these 22 years, there have been two periods when FCO terrorist activity caused major security concerns for the Western European democracies. The first period was from 1977 to 1981. During this period, the RAF reached an operational peak that it has never been able to duplicate. Some key RAF attacks during this period were:

1. The 1977 kidnapping and subsequent murder of Dr Hans-Martin

Schleyer, a German industrialist and economic adviser to Chancellor Helmut Schmidt.

2. Participating with the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine/Special Operations Group (PFLP-SOG) in the planning of the October 1977 hijacking of a Lufthansa airliner (the only known joint FCO/Middle Eastern terrorist incident).

3. The 1979 attempted assassination of the NATO Commander in Chief, US Army General Alexander Haig – the highest NATO target ever attacked by an FCO.

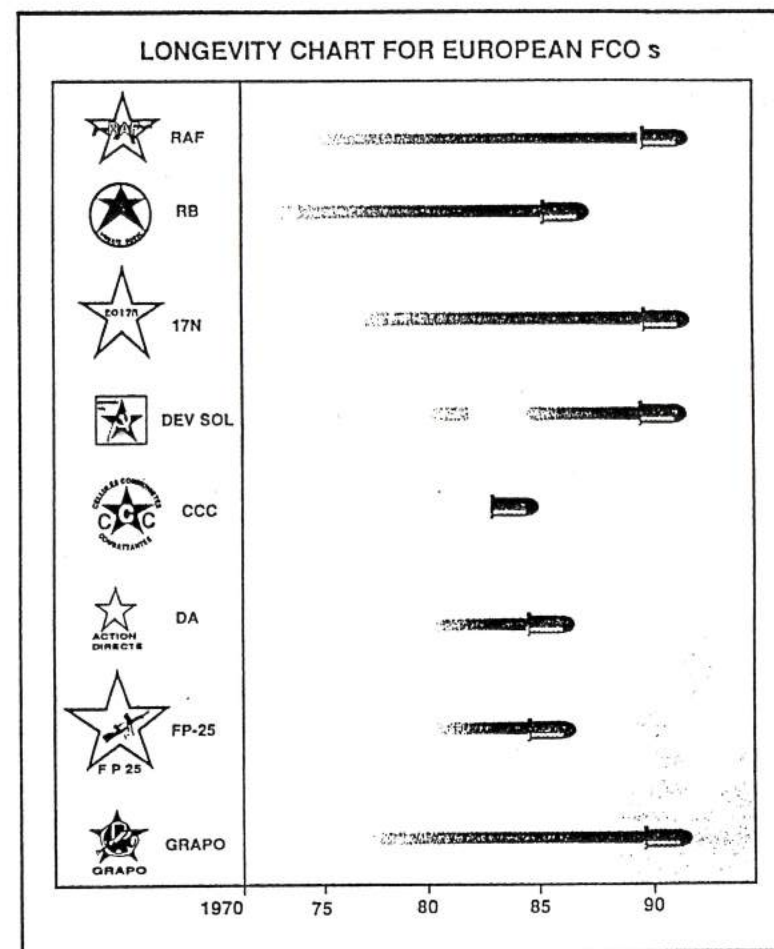
For the Red Brigades, this particular period has been referred to as their 'years of lead', when the RB was unified, active, and growing in strength. During this period, the RB carried out its two most important and high profile kidnappings – Aldo Moro in 1979 and US Army General James Dozier in 1981. GRAPO was also at the height of its terrorist activities during this period, as were DEV SOL and other Marxist-Leninist terrorist groups in Turkey.

As a result of police arrests and strategic 'mistakes', the FCO threat declined during 1982–84. This leads to the second period of a heightened FCO terrorist threat in Western Europe: 1985–86. During this second period, the RAF regroups, the CCC emerges on the terrorist scene, FP-25, DA and 17N increase the frequency of their operations, and the perceived threat of an FCO 'anti-imperialist front' in Western Europe surfaces. This is the period of 'Euroterrorism'. However, this second period is brief as the CCC, DA, RB and the FP-25 are all neutralized during 1987–88. Moreover, the possibility of an FCO front in Western Europe never materializes.

Since 1989, three groups have defined the level and scope of the FCO terrorist threat in Western Europe: the RAF, 17N and DEV SOL. The RAF has encountered some internal problems and has not been able to increase the frequency of its attacks, nor develop its 'anti-imperialist' front – either in Germany or in Western Europe.⁶⁴ Its sympathizer and supporter base is also shrinking. It currently has about 10–15 known hardcore terrorists who are capable of carrying out two to three major attacks a year. The RAF does have a large, dedicated, and active prison front. This could enable the RAF to survive into the mid-1990s. Essentially, the RAF terrorist threat in Germany is stagnant, with preliminary signs that it may be declining.

The most significant sign that the RAF may be in decline is a five-page communiqué that the group sent to Agence France Presse on 13 April 1992. In this communiqué, the RAF offered to suspend its 20-year terrorist campaign against the German state in return for the government

FIGURE 2



releasing all imprisoned RAF members. It remains to be seen whether the RAF and the German government will engage in any negotiations or 'discussions'. As this book is going to press, several unanswered questions remain concerning the RAF's offer for 'conditional surrender'. First, is the RAF willing to reduce its demand for all the prisoners to be released – a proposal the government will have great difficulty in implementing? Second, do the people who wrote the 13 April communiqué represent all of the RAF or just a faction within the group? And lastly, if the government refuses to meet the RAF's conditions for the suspension of the group's terrorist activities, will the RAF return to its campaign of violence against the German state? The 13 April communiqué clearly indicates that the RAF has encountered strategic confusion, organizational isolation, and ideological fatigue.

The 17N group remains a major security threat in Greece. The frequency and level of sophistication of its terrorist attacks have been increasing (1989 – seven attacks; 1990 – 15 attacks; 1991 – 19 attacks). Moreover, up to March 1992, no member of 17N has ever been arrested. Therefore, it has no prison front. The Achilles' heel for the 17N, however, may be the absence of any known supporter or sympathizer base. In essence, unlike the RAF and DEV SOL, the 17N has not demonstrated an ability to reorganize after police arrests. The group may be susceptible to a police 'knockout punch' – like DA and the CCC. The 17N appears to be a small, possibly single cell, self-sufficient FCO that could become demoralized and unraveled with the arrests of one or two of its members. All FCOs must eventually face the test of whether they can reorganize after police arrests and resurface after a 'strategic withdrawal' phase. Those that pass the test remain on the terrorist scene. Those that fail are relegated to the FCO cemetery at 'passage barrault'.

The DEV SOL in Turkey probably poses the most serious security threat of all the remaining European FCOs. Like the RAF, DEV SOL has proven its ability to reorganize after police arrests, and, it too has a large, dedicated and active prison front. Unlike the RAF, DEV SOL has a growing supporter and sympathizer base. DEV SOL in the 1990s can be compared with the Red Brigades of the late 1970s – in terms of manpower, organization, finances and propaganda outlets. The DEV SOL also has something the RB never had – an overseas support base. For DEV SOL has many Turkish sympathizers in Germany and the Netherlands. It will take more than one or two police operations to put DEV SOL out of commission. It should be able to last into the mid-1990s.

Despite the above forecasts for the RAF, 17N, and DEV SOL, the overall FCO terrorist threat in Western Europe is clearly on the decline. The FCO is an endangered species of terrorist group that is currently

running on the 'fumes' of Marxism-Leninism. However, as a unique species of terrorist group and one that has three active representatives on the European scene, logic and prudence demand that these groups should continue to be studied. And one of the most readily available and valuable windows into these groups is their written propaganda, especially the attack communiqués and strategic tracts. These documents can provide the analyst and student of terrorism with the following pieces of an FCO puzzle:

1. Timing and issues of an ideological dispute.
2. Motive and objectives behind a prison hunger strike.
3. Signs of disagreement between a group and its supporters and sympathizers.
4. Psychological state and level of morale within the group.
5. Operational readiness of the group.
6. Thematic shifts in a terrorist campaign.
7. Current 'issues of interest' and concern for the group.
8. Strategic 'detours' the group may be making.
9. The group's world view and current mindset.
10. Future targeting sectors.

The problem of studying the internal dynamics of a terrorist group is like trying to determine the floorplan and room contents of a house that has all the doors locked, windows closed, and curtains and blinds shut. Obviously, if one had someone *inside* the house the task would be easier. However, very few European FCOs have been infiltrated by the police or security agencies. It thus becomes necessary to accomplish the task by outside observation. One could gather information on the floorplan of the house by looking at similar, but accessible houses. This corresponds to developing a typology for the FCOs. From this one can construct an operational and ideological floorplan of the FCO under study. There is still the question of the contents of each room. In a sense, the terrorist operations that the group carries out is like having one of the window blinds or curtains opened. The attacks provide targeting, tactical, manpower and weapons data on the group. Unfortunately, this only means that one has observed only one of the rooms. However, another window curtain is opened when one examines the group's published documents. In this particular case, the window may be dirty and inhibit the observation of the room. If one is not familiar with the Marxist-Leninist jargon or the terms

of reference used by the FCOs, then it is not really clear what one is looking at. When one understands how and what they are writing, one's vision becomes clearer, and one sees the contents of the room. In most cases, all one will be able to observe is one or two rooms of the house. But from these two rooms, one will be in a better position to speculate as to what is in the other rooms.

NOTES

1. For additional information, in English, on the individual FCOs, the author suggests the following sources: Marco Rimanelli, 'Italian Terrorism and Society, the 1940s-1980s: Roots, Ideologies, Evolution, and International Connections', *Terrorism: An International Journal*, Vol. 12 (1989), pp. 249-96; Robert C. Meade Jr., *Red Brigades: The Story of Italian Terrorism* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1990); Richard Oliver Collin and Gordon L. Freedman, *Winter of Fire: The Abduction of General Dozier and the Downfall of the Red Brigades* (New York: Dutton, 1990); Alison Jamieson, *The Heart Attacked: Terrorism and Conflict in the Italian State* (New York: Marion Boyars, 1989); Robert Katz, *Days of Wrath: The Ordeal of Aldo Moro, The Kidnapping, The Execution, The Aftermath* (New York: Doubleday and Company, 1980); Alison Jamieson, 'Entry, Discipline, and Exit in the Italian Red Brigades', *Terrorism and Political Violence* (London), Vol. 2, No. 2 (Spring 1990), pp. 1-20; Andrew Corsun, 'Group Profile: The Revolutionary Organization 17 November in Greece', in Yonah Alexander and Dennis Pluchinsky (eds), *European Terrorism: Today and Tomorrow* (Washington, DC: Brassey's, 1992); Michael Dartnell, 'France's Action Directe: Terrorists in Search of a Revolution', *Terrorism and Political Violence* (London), Vol. 2, No. 4 (Winter 1990), pp. 457-88; Phillip Jenkins, 'Strategy of Tension: The Belgian Terrorist Crisis', *Terrorism: An International Journal*, Vol. 13, Number 4-5 (July-October 1990), pp. 299-309; Jillian Becker, *Hitler's Children: The Story of the Baader-Meinhof Terrorist Gang* (London: Pickwick Books, 1989) third edition; Dennis Pluchinsky, 'An Organizational and Operational Analysis of Germany's Red Army Faction', in Alexander and Pluchinsky (eds), op. cit. Unfortunately, there have been no systematic studies in English on FCOs operating in Portugal, Greece, Turkey, and Spain.
2. Some European terrorism experts question whether Dev Sol is a 'classic' fighting communist organization. They claim that Dev Sol is composed primarily of Kurds and Shia Muslims (two minorities that consider themselves 'oppressed' in Turkey) and thus the Marxist-Leninist ideology may not be a primary motivator for the group. [See for example, 'Apparences Communistes Combattantes - Réalités, Ethniques et Religieuses' (Combatant Communist Appearances - Ethnic and Religious Realities), *Terrorism and Political Violence* (Paris), No. 3 (October 1991), pp. 46-7] The author has tagged Dev Sol as a FCO based on its overall goal, analysis of its communiqués, operational characteristics, and targeting preferences. Dev Sol is admittedly an enigma that demands more study.
3. The eight FCOs which are highlighted in this chapter are not the only Marxist-Leninist terrorist groups that have operated in Western Europe. There have been other FCOs, such as Front Line in Italy, the Angry Brigades in Great Britain, and several Turkish groups (for example, the Marxist-Leninist Armed Propaganda Unit or MLAPU; the Turkish People's Liberation Party/Front or TPLP/F; the Turkish Workers and Peasants Liberation Army; and the Revolutionary Way or Dev Yol). In fact, during the late 1970s, there were over 50 Marxist-Leninist terrorist groups operating in Turkey at various operational levels. Currently, there are about seven. There have also been Marxist-Leninist terrorist groups that for various reasons did not fit the criteria for an FCO. Some examples would be the Second of June Movement in West Germany, the Irish National Liberation Army in Northern Ireland, the Revolutionary Cells in West Germany, the Anti-State Struggle group

in Greece, the Revolutionary Popular Struggle in Greece, the May 1 group in Greece, and Iraultza in the northern Basque region of Spain. In Italy, during the 1970s, there were over 225 Marxist-Leninist terrorist groups that were active at various operational levels. The FCOs selected for this chapter are those that have posed the most serious terrorist threat to their respective countries of origin and those that the author considers to be the most representative of a fighting communist organization.

4. While there have been numerous articles and books published on the individual European FCOs, little has been written on the FCOs as a particular terrorist strain. To the author's knowledge, the most extensive and systematic study of the European FCOs can be found in Xavier Raufer, *Terrorisme: Maintenant, La France?* [Terrorism: Now, France?] (Paris: Editions Garnier, 1982). See also Xavier Raufer, 'Euroterrorisme: Comprendre pour Combattre' [Euroterrorism: To Understand in order to fight], *Politique Internationale* (Paris), (Winter 1985-86), pp. 251-63.
5. On 15 July 1991, some members of Terra Lluire renounced the use of armed struggle to attain independence for Catalonia. They also announced their intention to join the left-wing Catalan Nationalist Party in order to work for independence by using political means. It remains to be seen whether or not more hardline elements in TL will try to establish a new Catalan militant group to replace TL. In the past, the IRA, ETA, and FLNC have all encountered dissent from moderate elements within their organizations. This usually has resulted in an organizational split with the hardline members continuing with the armed struggle. However, since TL was a much smaller separatist group, it may be more difficult for a successor to TL to develop in the Catalan region of Spain.
6. Separatist attacks in the capitals of the targeted country have an important propaganda value. If a separatist group carried out all its attacks within its ethnic regions, then the terrorist activities of that group are perceived by the general populace as just a 'regional' problem. Attacks in the capital and other cities outside their homeland turn their separatist campaign into a 'national' problem. Attacks against foreigners inside or outside the ethnic region or attacks carried out in other countries transform the separatist campaign into an 'international' problem. For additional information on European separatist groups, see Riccardo Petrella, 'Nationalist and Regionalist Movements in Western Europe', in Charles R. Foster (ed.), *Nations Without a State: Ethnic Minorities in Western Europe* (New York: Praeger, 1980).
7. *Republican News*, 23 February 1980. The author estimates that from 1980 to 1991, the IRA carried out 21 terrorist incidents on the European mainland - all in Germany, Belgium and the Netherlands. Seventeen of these incidents have occurred since 1987. During the same period, the ETA carried out 19 incidents outside Spain - all in Germany, Italy, and the Netherlands. Interestingly, all of these ETA attacks have taken place since 1989. The FLNC and TL have not, to the author's knowledge, carried out any terrorist activity outside France and Spain respectively.
8. For example, during 1990-91, the IRA carried out 38 terrorist attacks on the British mainland, mostly in London and its environs. These attacks killed four people and injured over 80. The civilian casualties were one killed and 70 injured. The most recent, clearly designed lethal IRA attack against civilians in London took place on 18 February 1991 when the IRA detonated bombs in Paddington and Victoria Stations.
9. Like the IRA, the ETA's attacks in Spanish cities is designed to (1) embarrass the national security forces, (2) demonstrate ETA's operational capability, and (3) remind the Spanish populace that there is still a problem in the northern Basque region. The ETA has also used these attacks to damage Spain's tourism industry. The group has frequently carried out a series of bombings during the summer months in the Costa del Sol resort area of Spain. Moreover, in August of 1990 and 1991, the ETA bombed several major Spanish railway lines. These latter attacks caused the US Department of State to issue travel notices in both years, warning Americans travelling to Spain that they might encounter some transport delays. In late 1991-early 1992, the ETA began to increase its operations in Barcelona (site of the 1992 Summer Olympic games) and Seville (site of the 1992 World Fair).
10. ETA has been more active in Madrid than the IRA in London. From 1986 to 1991, the ETA's 'Madrid Commando' killed 27 people and injured over 100 in about 30 terrorist operations in Madrid and its environs.

11. Dennis A. Pluchinsky, 'Middle Eastern Terrorist Activity in Western Europe: Trends and Prospects', *Terrorism: An International Journal*, Vol. 14, No. 6, (1991), p. 69. For additional information on the Middle Eastern terrorist threat in Western Europe, see the author's 'Middle Eastern Terrorist Activity in Western Europe in the 1980s: A Decade Of Violence', in Pluchinsky and Alexander (eds), op. cit.
12. An exception to this rule was the 1986 bombing campaign in Paris carried out by a pro-Iranian, Islamic fundamentalist group. This campaign consisted of 15 terrorist incidents which caused 13 deaths and over 300 injuries. There is strong suspicion that the Iranian government was behind this campaign in order to 'persuade' France to modify its political-military relationship with Iraq, which at the time was at war with Iran. This 1986 terrorist campaign still remains as the most salient example of a state-sponsored terrorist campaign in Western Europe.
13. CCC communiqué claiming credit for the bombing of a Bank of America office in Antwerp, Belgium on 4 December 1985 (mimeographed document).
14. Raufer, *Terrorisme: Maintenant, La France?*, p. 180.
15. Emil B. Adler, *Communism: Classic and Contemporary* (New York: Barron's Educational Series, 1970), p. 18.
16. RAF communiqué claiming credit for the assassination of Detlev Rohwedder near Düsseldorf on 1 April 1991 (mimeographed document).
17. Ibid.
18. RAF attack communiqué claiming credit for the assassination of Alfred Herrhausen in Frankfurt on 30 November 1989, dated 2 December 1989 (mimeographed document).
19. V.I. Lenin, *Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism* (New York: International Publishers, 1969), p. 89.
20. RAF communiqué on the attack on the US Embassy in Bonn on 13 February 1991 (mimeographed document).
21. 17N communiqué dated 29 January 1991 (mimeographed document).
22. Dev Sol 'news bulletin' No. 3, dated 1 March 1991 (mimeographed document).
23. RAF communiqué claiming credit for the assassination in Munich of Dr Karl-Heinz Beckurts on 9 July 1986 (mimeographed document).
24. 'Für die Einheit der Revolutionäre in Westeuropa' [For the Unity of the Western European Revolutionaries], joint communiqué in German and French issued by Direct Action and the Red Army Faction, dated January 1985 (mimeographed document).
25. RAF attack communiqué claiming credit for the attempted assassination of General Alexander Haig in Obourg, Belgium on 25 June 1979, undated (mimeographed document).
26. RAF and RB joint communiqué, dated September 1988, (mimeographed document).
27. See for example, Peter Fritzsche, 'Terrorism in the Federal Republic of Germany and Italy: Legacy of the '68 Movement or Burden of Fascism?' *Terrorism and Political Violence*, Vol. 1, No. 4 (October 1989), pp. 466-81.
28. Iring Feischer (ed.), *Analyzen zum Terrorismus I - Ideologien und Strategien* [Analysis of Terrorism I: Ideologies and Strategies] (Germany: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1981), p. 191.
29. Frederick Oriach, 'La Lutte Armée, Nécessité, Stratégique et Tactique du Combat pour la Révolution' [Armed Struggle: The Strategic and Tactical Necessity of the Fight for the Revolution], 46-page pamphlet, publisher unknown, printed around 1985, p. 30 (mimeographed document).
30. Ibid., p. 36.
31. Ibid., p. 40.
32. Ibid., p. 42.
33. Red Brigades (prisoner collective), 'L'Ape e il Comunista: Elementi per La Critica Marxista dell'Economia Politica e per la Costruzione del Programma di Transizione al Comunismo' [The Bee and the Communist: Principles for a Marxist Critique of the Political Economy and for Development of a Program for Transition to Communism], December 1980, section entitled 'Le Venti Tesi Finali' [The Twenty Final Theses], p. 271 (mimeographed document).
34. 'Cellules Communistes Combattantes: Comment Tombe une Organisation Trop Bavarde' [The Fighting Communist Cells: How Does an Organization Fall From Revealing Too

- Much?], *Notes & Etudes*, Paris Institute of Criminology, No. 11/12, (August-October 1989), pp. 11-17. This article was prepared by intelligence analysts of the Belgian Anti-Terrorism group who were involved in tracking the CCC. To the author's knowledge, this is the first time terrorism analysts from an official European government agency have published a public commentary on how they neutralized a FCO.
35. Red Brigades, 'Twenty Final Theses', p. 270.
36. Ibid., pp. 270-71.
37. Interview with members of the CCC, published in *Le Peuple* (Brussels), 23 September 1988.
38. DA communiqué, dated April 1984, and published in *L'Internationale*, No. 6, April 1984.
39. RAF communiqué, dated 29 May 1972 (mimeographed document).
40. CCC interview with *Le Peuple*, 23 September 1988.
41. RAF attack communiqué on General Haig.
42. RAF attack communiqué on General Kroesen, dated 15 September 1981 (mimeographed document).
43. RB communiqué No. 2 from Dozier kidnapping, dated 27 December 1981 (mimeographed document).
44. RB attack communiqué on Hunt, dated February 1984 (mimeographed document).
45. DA attack communiqué on General Audran, undated (mimeographed document).
46. DA attack communiqué on Brana, undated (mimeographed document).
47. 17N attack communiqué on Athanasiadis, dated 22 February 1988 (mimeographed document).
48. RAF attack communiqué on Herrhausen.
49. GRAPO attack communiqué on Dr Munoz, dated 28 March 1991 (mimeographed document).
50. 17N attack communiqué on Vardinoyannis, dated 20 November 1990 (mimeographed document).
51. Devrimci Sol 'Haber Bulteni' [Revolutionary Left News Bulletin], No. 9, dated 22 March 1991. It is interesting to note that DEV SOL only started issuing written communiqués or what it calls 'news bulletins' in early 1991. Its first news bulletin was issued on 22 February 1991. From this date to 2 April 1992, 49 news bulletins have been issued. These news bulletins act as both 'attack' and 'commentary' communiqués.
52. RAF attack communiqué on Rohwedder, dated 4 April 1991 (mimeographed document).
53. Red Brigades, 'Twenty Final Theses', p. 278.
54. Oriach, 'Armed Struggle ...', p. 36.
55. Several West European countries have tried to ban the publication of terrorist propaganda in the media. These bans have usually triggered political and media opposition which in turn caused the governments to rescind the ban. The most recent Western European countries to ban the publication of terrorist propaganda are Greece and Turkey. In December 1990, Greece passed the 'Law for the Protection of the Citizen from Terrorism' that took effect in January 1991. Article six in this law specifies that the supreme court prosecutor can ban the publication or broadcast of any terrorist communiqué. This ban was really aimed at 17N. Beginning in February 1991, the supreme court prosecutor has banned the publication of 17N attack communiqués in the Greek media. The Greek press challenged this law by continuing to publish 17N communiqués - either full text or excerpts. The Greek government responded by bringing criminal charges against the editors of seven Greek newspapers. On 9 September 1991, the seven were found guilty of violating the new law, fined, and sentenced to jail terms ranging from five to 10 months. They were freed on 20 September 1991 after two Greek press unions paid their fines - in lieu of the jail sentence. On 7 October 1991, 17N assassinated a Turkish diplomat in Athens. On the same day, the Greek supreme court prosecutor banned the publication of the 17N communiqué relating to this attack. On 8 October, a Greek newspaper *Eleftherotypia*, published the full text of the 17N attack communiqué claiming credit for the assassination. On the same day, the supreme court prosecutor ordered the arrest of the newspaper's editor. It is clear that article six remains controversial for the Greek media and that the government will either be forced to modify article six or rescind it. The author believes that the law, if maintained, would present a problem to 17N. FCO's need to spread their propaganda. The only propaganda mechanisms

the 17N has employed to spread its propaganda has been the issuing of written attack and commentary communiqués that have been published in the media. It has not really taken advantage of the other European underground journals or newspapers. If the media refuses to publish the 17N communiqués, the group would be forced to find another outlet.

On 12 April 1991, the Turkish government implemented a new anti-terrorism law that also prohibits the publication or printing of leaflets and declarations of terrorist organizations (article six). Unlike 17N, which relies totally on communiqués published in the Greek newspapers, the major Turkish FCO, Dev Sol, has other properganda outlets, such as its journals *Yeni Cozum* (New Solution) and its successor *Mucadele* (Struggle), *Devrimci Isi Hareketi* (Revolutionary Workers Movement), and *Haziran Yayinlari* (June Publications). There are also Dev Sol sympathizer groups in France, the Netherlands, and Germany which publish Dev Sol-affiliated journals and newsletters.

56. In a communiqué dated 26 April 1990 and sent to the Agence France Presse office in Bonn, the RAF denied that it has planned to attack the West German Minister for Agriculture, Ignaz Kiechle. This communiqué also stated that: 'Originally, we had considered commenting briefly on this secret service thing later, in a comprehensive paper on how we see the revolutionary process ...' (mimeographed document).
57. Joanne Wright, in her book *Terrorist Propaganda: The Red Army Faction and the Provisional IRA, 1968-86* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991), distinguishes between three target audiences for terrorist propaganda. The first is the 'uncommitted audience' which is composed of the 'general public of the country in which the terrorist group is operating, and international public opinion'. The second is the 'sympathetic audience' which is made up of 'those who already have a broad historical or ideological sympathy with the terrorist's expressed political aims'. The third is the 'active audience' which consists of 'self-confessed members of the terrorist organization including those in prison'. Using the RAF and the IRA as case studies, Ms Wright assesses the strategic goals these two groups are aiming for with regard to each of these three audiences. Correctly pointing out that 'most terrorist propaganda comes from open sources', she has written an informative and valuable study on the use of propaganda outlets, themes and strategies by two of Europe's most notorious terrorist groups.
58. See for example, 'A New Terrorist Alliance', *Newsweek*, 19 August 1985; 'Bomb at US Base Points to Resurgence of "Euroterrorism"', *Christian Science Monitor*, 9 August 1985; 'A Coalition of Violence in Europe: The New Terrorism', *The New Republic*, 1 April 1985; and from the *Washington Times*, 11 March 1985, the following quotation:

'Euroterrorism' - a new word in the 'Euro-vocabulary' - has gained currency, leaving a trail of blood and warnings across Western Europe. The targets were selected carefully. Almost all were connected with the West's arms industry and with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization ... Fear of Euroterrorism has spread across the Atlantic. In Washington, Reagan administration officials are said to be concerned about the mobility of the various terrorist organizations.
59. *Expresso* (Lisbon), 24 February 1990, pp. 1 & 16.
60. see also Union dei Comunisti Combattenti, 'Manifesto e Tesi di Fondazione' [Union of Communist Combatants, Manifesto and Founding Theses], dated October 1985 (mimeographed documents).
61. CCC second interview with *Le Peuple*, 25 April 1987, p. 2.
62. PCE(r), 'Textos para el Debate en el Movimiento Revolucionario Europeo', dated March 1987, 125-page pamphlet.
63. *Correspondances Revolutionnaires* (Brussels), No. 8, October-December 1990, p. 34.
64. Although the President of the German Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution, Dr Eckart Werthebeck, has stated in July 1991 that it is RAF terrorism that causes him 'the biggest worries at this time', he also noted that 'there are disputes among the command level people, among those in prison, but also among the militant level, the so-called fighting units and the narrower RAF periphery'. *Frankfurter Allgemeine*, 15 July 1991, p. 14.



3

Red Army Faction

Original Language (German) Rote Armee Faction

The Red Army Faction (RAF) is a small Marxist-Leninist terrorist group that has been operating in Germany since 1970. The roots of this urban guerrilla group, often referred to as the Baader-Meinhof Gang, go back to the violent student protests in West Germany during the late 1960s which were triggered by the Vietnam War. The goal of the RAF is to destroy the current German state and replace it with a vaguely defined 'proletarian dictatorship'. The RAF considers itself to be part of the international revolutionary movement and therefore counts as its 'enemies' imperialism, capitalism and fascism, in all their various forms. All RAF terrorist attacks are directed at symbolic targets that represent one or more of these 'enemies'. Over the past 22 years, the RAF has targeted German businessmen, politicians, government officials and American military officers and installations. It is the longest surviving FCO operating in Europe today. The RAF has demonstrated its operational resilience by surviving the arrests and/or deaths of three successive leadership cadres and the arrests of over 150 of its hard-core members. It is one of the few European Marxist-Leninist groups that has developed over the years a strong and active 'prison front' of imprisoned RAF members who continue their agitation and propaganda activities from within the prisons.

TACTICS

The RAF has carried out assassinations, car bombings, a rocket attack, remote-detonated roadside bombings, kidnappings, bank robberies, weapons and explosives thefts, and sniping attacks. The RAF unit that is responsible for the more tactically complicated, lethal terrorist operations is called the 'commando' or 'guerrilla'. The RAF commando level has carried out 24 operations between 1972 and 1991. Over the past five years, it has averaged two attacks per year. This low rate of operations has been offset by the prominence of the group's targets, mostly high-level German

government and economic figures. Some of the more notorious RAF commando attacks are listed in the chronology below.

TERRORIST LITERATURE

The RAF has issued ideological tracts, attack communiqués, trial statements, interviews, special communiqués, several issues of an underground journal, and its collected 'works' in book form. It always claims responsibility for its terrorist attacks by issuing multi-page, written communiqués immediately afterwards. In some instances, an RAF 'calling card', consisting of a sheet of paper with the RAF logo and several 'slogans', has been left at the attack site, to be followed later on by a written communiqué sent to the media to explain in detail the RAF's motives and objectives in carrying out the attack. The group is not known to claim credit for attacks it did not carry out.

SELECTED CHRONOLOGY OF TERRORIST INCIDENTS

- 1972
11 May – Frankfurt: Bombed the US Army V Corps Headquarters, killing one US military officer and injuring 13 American servicemen.
- 24 May – Heidelberg: Bombed the US Army Europe Headquarters, killing three American servicemen and injuring five others.
- 1975
24 April – Stockholm, Sweden: Seized the West German Embassy to demand the release of 26 imprisoned German terrorists from German jails. Two German diplomats were killed during the takeover. In attempting to escape from the Embassy, two terrorists died and four were arrested.
- 1977
7 April – Karlsruhe: Assassinated the West German Federal Prosecutor, Siegfried Buback.
- 5 September – Cologne: Kidnapped Dr Hanns-Martin Schleyer, the President of the Employers Association and of the German Industry Association, to force the release of 11 RAF members from German prisons. On 13 October, to support this RAF operation, the Popular

Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) hijacked a German commercial airliner. A German counter-terrorist team stormed the aircraft in Mogadishu, Somalia, and rescued the passengers and crew. Despondent over the rescue and the unwillingness of the German government to negotiate with Schleyer's kidnappers, several historic RAF leaders committed suicide in their prison cells. Claiming that the RAF prisoners were murdered by the German state, the RAF retaliated on 18 October by killing Dr Schleyer – 43 days after he was abducted.

- 1979
25 June – Mons, Belgium: Attempted to assassinate NATO Commander-in-Chief, General Alexander Haig, by detonating explosives hidden under a bridge as General Haig's motorcade passed over it.
- 1981
15 September – Heidelberg: Attempted to assassinate General Frederick Kroesen, the Commander of US Army Forces in Europe, by firing two anti-tank rockets at the General's security motorcade.
- 1985
1 February – Munich: Assassinated Dr Ernst Zimmerman, Chairman of MTU, a German armaments firm.
- 8 August – Frankfurt: Detonated a car bomb at the US Air Force base at Ramstein, killing two Americans and injuring 20 others.
- 1986
9 July – Munich: Assassinated Dr Karl-Heinz Beckurts, Director of the Siemens Research Department and member of the Siemens Board of Directors, by detonating a roadside bomb as Beckurts' motorcade passed by.
- 1989
30 November – Frankfurt: Assassinated Alfred Herrhausen, the Chairman of the Deutsche Bank and an leading economic figure in Europe, by using an infra-red device to detonate explosives along the road as Herrhausen's armored vehicle passed by.

1991

- 13 February – Bonn: Strafed the US Embassy with over 250 rounds from automatic weapons.
- 1 April – Düsseldorf: Assassinated Detlev Rohwedder, President of the Treuhandanstalt, a German government agency charged with privatizing former East German state-owned firms.

Hunger Strike Declaration of 4 December 1984 by Imprisoned Members of the Red Army Faction

We say that the dialectics of revolutionary struggles are weightier than the imperialist doctrine of the hard line.

In the maximum-security institutions, the prisons, in the entire social terrain here and internationally the imperialists heap up war and repression matériel in order to stifle history, which demands the break with the capitalist system worldwide. Their power rests on military strategy, the putting down of uprisings, on machines – but it is hollow, nothing but violence. It is their reaction to the uniting power of the international struggles for liberation, even in Western Europe.

We are now fighting in the knowledge of the unity of the prisoners from the guerrilla and resistance with the hunger strike for collocation in large groups. We demand the implementation of the minimum guarantees of the Geneva Convention. This is the political demand for which the prisoners of war are fighting together, and the possible protection, against the institutionalization of torture and criminalization in the NATO democracies.

In our situation, also, this is a decision arising out of the same overall situation which all parts of the revolutionary left are facing, namely of breaking out of the defensive line of stalled force relations – of transforming the search, the approaches, the will, into struggle, and of creating new political breakthroughs. For us, this means starting out from the fact of isolation, of forced separation, and trusting in our own strength. Against a situation in which the imperialist state, out of its substantive instability and progressive loss of legitimacy only wants to demonstrate its power to rule, and fights any change, even for prisoners, as a matter of power. Our struggle joins the struggles of the prisoners of war in France, Ireland, Turkey, Spain, Italy and Occupied Palestine, and initiates new ones. And it is integrated into the task which faces the whole revolutionary left here: either it breaks through to an authentic revolutionary process in Western Europe through practical resistance by becoming the active promoter of the struggle for liberation, or it could become merely a marginal opposition group, commenting on the crimes of imperialism and the progress towards the perfect fascist state–security state.

Unity of struggle in the anti-imperialist front.

We want the collocation of all revolutionary prisoners in large groups. We can only achieve it by fighting for it. In our resistance against the whole escalated annihilation program we defend ourselves and appropriate on a new level what they want to destroy by force.

Where domination functions through separation, differentiation and the destruction of individuals in order to hurt all and to paralyze the whole process, solidarity is a weapon. It is the first strong, subjective, political experience for anyone who begins to fight; here it is the core of revolutionary morality: solidarity

as a weapon – concrete, material action out of one's own decision to participate in this war.

This is what counts – it is the condition of our struggle: by fighting together and achieving through this fight collectivity and unity, the morale and structure which will break the effectiveness of the counter-revolutionary war. And the leap in that direction, which is something new for each of us, is also for the prisoners from the resistance, as it is for everyone who is fighting in prison for identity, counter-power – necessary and possible, springing precisely from this common situation of being captive, isolated, and like us confronted with the whole brutality of their warfare.

We want prisoner collectives and collocation as its practical condition – because, where they want to achieve a standstill and submission to their power, it is a living and material process; new thoughts and experiences come together, and we achieve through struggle new possibilities, concepts and policies. Thus it is a practical protection against torture, against the permanent terror of these conditions; because, where we are together, it can no longer touch us, and the totality of the siege comes apart against the collective process.

Collectivity is structure and goal of the war of liberation. It is the space in which commitment, learning processes and self-determined conscious relationships can be developed. It is the concretion of a new reality among us and for us, which can no longer be reached and touched by the enemy. Subjectively and objectively necessary structure, especially in the metropolis: from the lack of revolutionary mass struggles, the weakness of broad legal forms of organization against fascism here, from the experience of the unreliability of its political structure, its sporadic nature, and the impossibility of being the master of one's own actions within a framework that is controlled and manipulated by the state.

Collectivity is determined by its objective: to get to the attack – not just one attack, but attack as a continuing joint process of political determination and action. It exists only in the struggle, and only against domination and oppression can it be developed. It is not merely the negation of all that the state and the capitalist system represent, but it is the social organization of free individuals as it is already possible here and now, and wherever there is struggle.

We want the unity of all political prisoners in the struggle for liberation – we are certainly not fighting for a future in prison, just as there is no future for life under imperialism – and we want to get together with all those who have made the break with this system, who are trying to build on the fight against imprisonment, state, imperialism, and state-oriented thinking, and the revolutionary struggles, initiatives and experiences of recent years, and who want to draw the consequence by launching the joint attack now.

We are against the NATO program for the continuation of the war against guerrilla and resistance, which has been unified and escalated in Western Europe. Even in captivity, we demand the conditions laid down in the Geneva Conventions as a minimal guarantee against torture and annihilation for prisoners of war:

- collocation with the prisoners from the resistance and all struggling prisoners in large groups
- discontinuation of isolation of individuals and small groups and the acoustic and optical observation and control

- dropping of the communications ban: visits, letters, books, free political discussion and information.

It is clear that the confrontation must be total in order to achieve our goal. This war is not subject to arbitration; they have long taken away that possibility and are waging [the war] openly, because they are not only out for our annihilation, but primarily for our rapid annihilation. For the longer we fight, the more their fascist design, the escalation which they are pursuing, will turn against them, and this fight develops a dialectic in our favor, and the course of that policy which they are trying to eradicate prevails. The escalation is tangible. In December 1983, Rebmann said that the operation 'Greetings to the Political Prisoners' was an attempt to break through the communications ban – a new step in their old program which has been determining the reality of the political prisoners in the FRG for 13 years – 9 dead prisoners, torture by isolation, security wings, contact bans – they have tried everything: brainwashing through dead tracts, forced psychiatric care all the way to a differentiated and totally observed isolation within the so-called normal penal process. Beatings and attacks, forced anesthesia and CS gas, forced gynecological searches, shackling naked prisoners for hours during transport, force-feeding and deprivation of water, stress manipulation, daily cell searches, body searches to the skin several times a day, being kept shackled on bunks for days, sleep deprivation, prevention of medical attention, registration and observation of every move, and adjustment of the daily terror to the individual personality, deprivation of information and possibilities of orientation on reality within and outside of the walls of the prison, deprivation of daylight through window blinds during the day and of dark during the night through constant lighting, deprivation of environment, air, sound, changes, colors, the chance to withdraw to a space of one's own, radio, books, newspapers, of exercise outside the isolation container for years on end, deprivation of anything that can be taken away from a person down to that which distinguishes him from an animal, i.e. the possibility for social interaction – the cutting of the last correspondence links, two weeks of prison and searches in the *wg* because of a letter to one of us, terrorizing of visitors to deter them, the writing down of every word by the state and federal offices of criminal investigations, the ban on almost all visitors including close family members because of public relations activities against torture and annihilation (for 'supporting a terrorist association'), monitoring our conversations with our lawyers, searches of lawyers' offices, arrests. Since 1982 also: arbitrary bans of contacts by the prisons and no contacts during BKA searches. And now: a communications ban and Rebmann's dictum, 'We shall fight collocation even more in the future'. This means increased imposition on us, and now also on the prisoners from the resistance, of individual isolation, hermetically sealed from the outside in high-security wings and cells. After 8, 10 or 13 years of this kind of imprisonment, now a permanent ban on contacts as fascist normality against us, in which everything will be possible as it was in '77.

There is only one thing we can do against their terrorist program, and that is to fight and to attack them even from the extreme defensive of isolation, to attack them with what they cannot take from us even here without killing: our collective

consciousness and our will to prevail. It is a question of power, because here, too, it is a matter of all or nothing, and the question of whether we can now break this offensive by the state protection agencies cannot be separated from the question of how their counter-revolutionary offensive as a whole can be broken, and because they fear that new conditions are being achieved for the revolutionary movement if we *represent* the unity of the revolutionary prisoners *in the struggle* and if *we* prevail.

In this situation, where the imperialist states are building up Western Europe with the US heartland FRG as a strategic zone against the struggles of liberation all over the world, every breakthrough which the resistance achieves on the front in the interior becomes a question of power.

For after the defeat of the US system in Vietnam and its reconstruction phase, in which it is shaping NATO into a fascist strategic military alliance for US policy internally and externally, because it is to be part of *all* interventions, it has become an existential question for them to have the Western European metropolises completely in their hands: against the continuing pressure of the wars of liberation and its repercussions in the imperialist centers, against the young nation-states and the socialist countries in the East and against the establishment of the front in the center itself, which through more than ten years of armed policy in Western Europe is taking shape as an anti-imperialist front with its strategic attacks, and in which the various revolutionary struggles here are going to develop into antagonism and an offensive function for the global front.

If Zimmermann is first attacked by the UN because of his fascist policy towards foreigners, and can then force that body to swallow the human rights violations against asylum seekers, if his state secretary goes to Grenada after the US intervention in order to demonstrate what they mean by 'global domestic policy', if the new anti-torture convention can be ignored from the start by the FRG and other NATO states, if the FRG can continue to extradite Kurdish and Turkish comrades to its NATO partner Turkey because it has seen to it that torture and murder there have now been sanctioned on the EC level as normal, if it makes programmatically clear what human rights means to them by sending Jäger to represent it in the UN Human Rights Commission, then Rebmann may naturally demand that the public accept torture here as normal, then he can do what he has long been preparing for, and what the United Nations has internationally banned as a form of torture, namely a ban on communication.

In the same way they are aiming for the repressive implementation of a different normality – the militarization of the political life, government and society, a normality directed at creating a routine, because routine creates calm: to feel nothing, to think nothing, to understand nothing. Thus it is not a matter of information about the fact of torture, it is a matter of revolutionary counter-power and action. This whole arrogance of imperialist deployment of power knows only one limit: where strong, conscious resistance arising out of illegality and legality jointly draw the line.

Now that the FRG has pushed through the integration of the police forces of Western Europe as a preventive force against the armed antagonism within the metropolises as an openly military measure, the imperialist design is now the transformation of this state-protection bloc into the 'European Pillar of NATO' –

and, incidentally, the military link is to force the 'political unity' of these countries with the US military doctrine, on the basis of stationing military forces there, because it had not worked the other way around. This structure is to function independently from the consensus of the nation-states for the interests of the strategic power bloc. The protest of millions against this was fruitless; and the resistance which does not see the FRG state, its increased power and increasing claims for power, as identical with the US imperialist extermination policy, in the confrontation with the preventive total mobilization of the government machine could not be a factor in the international balance of forces in and from which we are fighting here. Rebmann's present ban on communication, which is meant as a threat against us and all who are talking with us, with whom we are fighting side by side, and whom we know without ever having seen them or having 'communicated' a word to them, because they know that many are searching for a radical solution, a concrete perspective for the struggle, and want to promote their experiences together with those of the prisoners from the armed struggle to achieve a breakthrough.

For this is what it is all about now. To give new meaning to the diversity of antagonistic initiatives, experiences and structures by breaking through the counter-revolutionary blockade: against the logic of annihilation, against the life sentence in the metropolis to free the blocked experiences, needs, hopes, goals and the restricted political horizon from the fetish of overwhelming state power; to liberate the new phase in the development of the revolutionary war here – to make the leap now which means that for each of us – here in the prisons and at every section of the confrontation: to help the revolutionary solution prevail against the counter-revolutionaries, smash the global project of the reactionary forces as well as the strategic pillars on which they want to erect it – preventive counter-revolution, turning the war into a police action, total social war, organizing the metropolises as a total relationship of power which permeates all social areas and relations, destructive and self-destructive. Campaigns of extermination against the liberation movements, peoples, revolutions in Asia, Latin America, Africa. The organization of these societies between barracks, IMF, and the now culminating use of the weapon of hunger against millions of people, in order that they do not become a danger to their plans of world domination if they want to take back by force the life of which they have been robbed. The policies of threat and provocation around the world, and especially against the socialist states in the East, pursued on the basis of their overwhelming global power, the haste with which they want to put all imperialist crimes together in the shade, with which they are organizing conventional and nuclear war, the race against the change of the objective maturity of the metropolis to the front in the war of liberation, against the wars of liberation and social explosions on all continents.

Because the situation is like that, because the contradiction is seizing the whole social system of the capitalist system, the imperialists want to turn the prisons and concentration camps into a 'factory for the annihilation of the class contradiction', and the prisoners in Western Europe are confronted with the unified measures of the NATO state: the Irish comrades had their political status revoked as a consequence of a NATO decision, the West German model of locker-like prisons

and forced isolation has been extended all the way to Italy and Spain. Now it is used against the mass struggles of the Turkish and Kurdish prisoners: 38 new maximum-security and isolation prisons, which are to make collective resistance impossible.

They are taking aim at the revolutionary morale and at the new experiences which the prisoners of war from the anti-imperialist and communist guerrillas, national struggles and movements have gained, and for which they continue to struggle.

The prisoners of war in Western Europe are close to each other. Their struggles are antagonism and offensive against the capitalist system and the NATO counter-revolution. They tear apart the totalitarian claim of the imperialist design on the terrain where it has the greatest power. If it is the intention of the NATO states to extinguish the development of the front in this section, i.e. the prisoners, it is up to us to confront them exactly here with the strategy and the morale of the front that we want. The 1981 strike of the Irish prisoners is our orientation, and the struggles of the Kurdish prisoners, their special internationalist force. Struggles which prepare the victory.

RAF and Direct Action joint communiqué of January 1985 entitled 'For the unity of West European revolutionaries'

We say:

It is now necessary and possible to initiate a new phase for the development of an authentic revolutionary strategy in the imperialist centers and as a condition for this qualitative jump create the international organization of the proletarian struggle in the cities, and its political-military nucleus: the Western European guerrilla.

We determine this step through the objective situation: the central position of Western Europe for imperialist reconstruction after the collapse of the international balance of power through the wars of liberation in the South and the collision between increasing productive capacities and the limits of the world market, which has led to the global political economic-military crisis of the imperialist chain of states and has extended to the entire imperialist system. And for ourselves out of the experiences of the last few years, in which the revolutionary armed policy has taken root in the cities, and in which new battles have developed at various focal points of the confrontation between imperialism and liberation, experiences which have helped to crystallize the conscious common struggle for revolutionary strategy and tactics in the cities, and which pose the question of their execution for the communist perspective in Western Europe with great urgency today.

In other words, owing to the unified imperialist strategy, the job of the communist guerrilla in Western Europe for the realization of their historic design is now:

The discussion of the revolutionary political line which makes unity in the offensive against the imperialist machine possible;

The practical process of developing a proletarian policy in the centers, which combines in the dialectic movement the uprising against the annihilation felt daily and everywhere in the imperialist system – and builds up the political-military front in Western Europe as a section of the global war between the international proletariat and the imperialist bourgeoisie;

An open process, oriented on the common attack, with the goal of breaking the imperialist strategy in the centers themselves, because this is where they have to regenerate themselves militarily and economically in order to safeguard their global domination.

The central project in the present phase of the imperialist strategy is the attempt to weld the West European states together into one homogeneous structure – into one hard bloc, which is to be completely integrated into the core of imperialist power, NATO – as the most complete imperialist structure of oppression. The

bourgeoisie wants to regenerate itself in this political-economic-military structure in order to turn back the clock to the time before the offensive of the wars of liberation, and in order to superimpose it on all national or economically determined contradictions as absolute power, which permeates all social relationships, with totalization of war as a solution for its comprehensive crisis.

Militarily, externally, as the capability to wage lightning warfare against the wars of liberation in the South, to roll back the front of the victorious nations in Asia, Africa, Latin America, and in concrete preparation for an attack on the socialist states in the East, the 'new NATO Doctrine' is nothing but offensive strategy into which the European states have been tied as relief for the American military machine, because it needs the concentration of all forces and means for a war on all fronts.

The stationing of the nuclear missiles was only one step, albeit a decisive one, in this scheme. The 'reactivation' of the WEU, the establishment of the FAR in France, the co-operation of the European NATO states, including France, in the armaments sector, the discussion about a German voice in the force de frappe and its inclusion in NATO, finally the clear intention to intervene, as NATO, against the Third World – these are concrete steps of military formation.

Internally, as a reaction to the antagonism and as prevention against the possibility of the revolutionary front in the centers, which can be a real irritant to its strategy – counter-insurgency as unified state policy of the imperialist chain – this is what determines the real situation here and is a condition which all revolutionaries must take for granted.

Economically, the objective is to subject European industry to the absolute domination of US capital, and to assure the global position of the imperialist bloc – USA, Japan, Western Europe – and the conditions for the multinational capitalist system, by concentrating research and production in areas of strategic importance for them – new technologies, electronics, weapons ... This is called wartime economy as a means for overcoming crises.

The pillars of the capitalist ideology and domination in the cities, 'prosperity', 'social security', and 'right to work', have already crumbled under the brutality of the restructuring measures: the elimination of millions of people from the production process through industrial reorganization on a global scale and robotization. It is clear that for the local population, this means only more exploitation, misery, mass manipulation and social control by the dominant ideology.

Owing to their substantial instability and the progressive loss of their legitimacy, the imperialist states can now only demonstrate their power to dominate. They are today confronted by the fact that they no longer have a passive consensus for any of their measures.

Political agony – that is the other side of their power. As a result of the antagonism, which has been developed world-wide by the proletariat and the oppressed nations in their fight against imperialism, it is the terrain on which the offensive of proletarian power in Western Europe can become a decisive factor for the worsening of the profound crisis of the system.

The attacks against the multinational structures of NATO, against its bases and

strategists, against its propaganda and its plans, were the first great mobilization for the development of the strategy of a proletarian policy in Western Europe under changed political conditions, a mobilization that will continue to develop and grow as a fight against the system which is characterized by exploitation and war, as can be seen from the attacks in Portugal, Belgium, Spain, Greece, France and the FRG.

Against all ideological debates and abstract programs 'on intern-nationalism' we say the strategy of the Western European guerrilla is, by its purpose, a section and function of the international class struggle; and by its practice, the political unity of the communists in Western Europe, the organization of the attack on the totality of the imperialist system, it is the material manifestation of proletarian internationalism required by today's situation.

Authentic revolutionary strategy in Western Europe will develop through the attack on the central imperialist projects – collectivity and coherence of the fighters from their special conditions and possibilities.

Unity, which through the destruction of the imperialist structures conquers the space in which proletarian consciousness and power will develop.

THE WESTERN EUROPEAN GUERRILLA IS SHAKING THE IMPERIALIST CENTER!

DIRECT ACTION
RED ARMY FACTION

Communiqué on the Assassination of Alfred Herrhausen, Chairman of Deutsche Bank, in Frankfurt on 30 November 1989

The revolutionary processes are the experience which, out of the agony between life and death, lead towards a determined struggle for life.

On 30 November 1989, our Wolfgang Beer Commando executed the head of Deutsche Bank, Alfred Herrhausen. We blew up his armored Mercedes with the help of a shaped-charge mine that we made ourselves.

The history of the bank bears the bloody traces of two world wars and millions of cases of exploitation, and carrying on the tradition, Herrhausen was at the head of this power center of German industry; he was the most powerful economic chief in Europe.

Deutsche Bank: All through Western Europe and in large parts of the world, this bank has become the symbol of the power and rule which everywhere collides with the fundamental interests of the people in a life of dignity and self-determination. Under Herrhausen's leadership, Deutsche Bank has become the largest bank in Europe and dominates economic and political development. It has thrown its net over all of Western Europe and heads the fascist capital structure against which everyone has to make his way. For years, it has been preparing for breaking into the East European countries; now it and others are lying in wait to subject the people there, too, to the dictates and logic of capitalist exploitation.

Herrhausen's plans against countries of the Third World [Tricont], which were even praised in concept, are nothing but an attempt to ensure the existing conditions of dominance and exploitation in the long run; they extend and intensify even further the suffering of the peoples.

Worldwide imperialism is producing a destructive development to ensure its positions of profit and power: genocide, hunger, humiliation, uncertainty of one's existence, and comprehensive destruction create a basically uniform situation, which has adopted existential dimensions everywhere; nowhere can the people really live in line with their own ideas and values.

However, the perpetrators of this system must know that their crimes have made them bitter enemies, that they will not have any place in the world where they can be safe from the attacks of the revolutionary guerrilla units.

We all, the entire revolutionary movement in Western Europe, are facing a new stage.

The completely changed international situation and all the new developments here require the further development of the entire revolutionary process. This is what we are working on, and on this we want to hold a discussion with all those who want to put an end to imperialist destruction and who want to fight for a basically different reality, which is oriented towards man, and who want this discussion with us.

A new stage, this means for us also, above all, the new composition of the revolutionary movement, which is possible because many want it and the first steps towards this have already been made. We see this as a process of joint discussion and practice, in which the various experiences, ideas and criticisms are frankly discussed in order to jointly understand the entire development and to come to political positions and specific, tangible ideas for the process of radical changes.

In the discussion about this, the prisoners must be a part. Because of this and because the plan of destruction against them must be finally stopped, we must fight for their collocation in the prison cells and their freedom.

In this new stage, we must manage to link the varied and different revolutionary practice into one guideline against the system. The revolutionary process needs a new dynamism and productive interrelationships; only together can the fight develop the necessary power to stop the destructive developments of imperialism and to reverse its entire destructive direction of development. Only together, as one front against imperialism, can we, here in Western Europe, together with liberation fighters all over the world, enforce a uniform, international and long-lasting process of radical change.

FIGHTING TOGETHER!

Red Army Faction

2 December 1989

Communiqué on the Attempted Assassination of Hans Neusel, State Secretary in the German Ministry of the Interior in Cologne on 27 July 1990

'People who refuse to end the struggle – either win or die – instead of losing and dying' (from the last letter of Holger Meins)

José Manuel Sevillano is dead. He was murdered in May by the Spanish government after 177 days of hunger strike. The imprisoned comrades from the GRAPO and PCE-r have been engaged for eight months in a long and hard struggle to be reunited.

Their demands must be met, and for this they need the solidarity and initiative of all who are serious about radical changes and the struggle for a humane society.

So far, the Spanish state has been taking a hard line and imposing torture on the prisoners; it has the responsibility and makes the decision; but the guidelines are set in Western European and NATO bodies, and therefore the FRG as leading European power is equally responsible for the death of José Manuel Sevillano.

On 27 July 1990 our José Manuel Sevillano Commando attacked State Secretary Hans Neusel of the FRG Interior Ministry, an expert in counter-insurgency.

We missed the military goal of the operation – the explosion was to guarantee his death, but also the total avoidance of injury to uninvolved bystanders. To this extent, we miscalculated the necessary amount of explosives.

We wanted to punish him for his crimes. He organizes and leads the fight against all who are fighting for liberation, self-determination and a life in human dignity, and against the destruction which this system is causing.

Since 1985, Neusel has been a leading figure in many meetings of the Trevi Group and the author of many initiatives for the intensification and co-ordination of the Western European fight against insurgency and for inhumane refugee policies. The fact that, since 1987, 'terrorism experts' of the Seven have been meeting regularly is due to an initiative launched by Neusel and the French Interior Minister.

Neusel is a member, or even chairman, of all crisis staffs involved in the fight against the resistance movements, whether it concerns the kidnapping of managers of German multinationals in Lebanon, the co-ordination of the investigation of our operations, or the intelligence committees of the government.

In the spring of 1989, when the prisoners here were conducting their hunger strike in order to achieve being united, Neusel was practically in charge of the Interior Ministry (before Schäuble was appointed Interior Minister). Zimmermann had long ago unofficially given up this function.

At that time, the government offensively pushed the slogan 'the government must not let itself be blackmailed by these prisoners'.

Neusel attended meetings of representatives of the justice ministries of the individual Länder in order to present the line favored by the Federal Interior Ministry. In connection with the hunger strike here, the following was clear from the start:

As long as the government's hard line is not broken down by the struggle of the prisoners and all those who have made the demand for consolidation of the prisoners their own, Neusel will be a part of the faction which wants to go on over the dead bodies of our comrades. Neusel is the proponent of this intransigent NATO line in the Federal Republic in the attack by the Western European monster against the imprisoned revolutionaries in Spain.

Neusel embodies – even though indirectly – the continuity of personnel of the German fascism of the Third Reich to the 'Greater Germany' which is moving towards a Fourth Reich. For many years, he pursued his political career by the side of former President Carstens, an old Nazi, and he publicly formulates his fascist thinking and ideas without even trying to cloak them in a pseudo-democratic guise. In 1987, when the question of giving refuge to 14 Chilean revolutionary prisoners who had been condemned to death by the fascist military regime came up, Neusel demanded that they first 'disprove the accusations against them' – which meant simply that he demanded their execution.

Neusel decides on the use of the GSG 9 and is involved in the decisions regarding who will be trained by this killer unit, such as, for instance, Turkish special units which are now butchering the population in Kurdistan.

The offensive against the prisoners in Spain, through which the socialist government under Gonzales is trying to prove itself permanently – especially with a view to 1992 – as a dependable member of the heartland of the European power bloc, is being conducted with the full backing of the other Western European states. This bloc, under the leadership of the FRG, has developed into a world power, and must preserve its inner stability against the increasingly apparent conflicts, which can no longer be pacified. Against this background, there is now an attempt being made throughout all Western European countries to suffocate all thoughts of resistance and self-determination in the iron grip and the permanent demonstration of the totality of their power.

In this connection, the question of whether the prisoners in Spain win their battle has great importance for the entire next phase, i.e. the rebuilding of revolutionary activity in Western Europe.

Just as the FRG government tried in 1977 to put a complete end to the problem of the guerrilla movement by defeating us and at the same time pushing the entire left into a mood of profound resignation and powerlessness, the attack on the prisoners of GRAPO and PCE-r is at the same time aimed at the entire revolutionary movement and all progressive forces in Western Europe.

The breaking up of the prisoners collectives and the isolation of the comrades is intended to cause a *turnaround* in developments of the last few years – in the very field in which the unity and awareness of the need for common action throughout Western Europe has been most thoroughly developed among the revolutionary movements and many individuals working towards radical changes.

The attempt to push through this turnaround at this time is due to present international developments:

Imperialism has won the Cold War. The disintegration of the Socialist Bloc, and with it also its historic function regarding the liberation processes in the Third World ['Trikont'], has led to a new stabilization of the imperialist power bloc.

The breakneck developments of the last few months and the swallowing up of the GDR has made the FRG into the uncontested leader within Western Europe, and the entire Western European Bloc into a world power.

From this new position of power they are now trying to regain ground against all revolutionary struggles and all struggles for living conditions at every point, and to turn back the clock where goals have already been reached by pressure from below.

Since the beginning or middle of the 1980s, when the liberation process ran into obstacles all over the world, the fighters had to try to find new ways everywhere.

In many countries of the Third World this meant that grassroots movements were created for the revolutionary liberation movements, which began to fight for a change in the inhuman and humiliating conditions of their lives and to organize their daily lives themselves.

In this way, in a number of countries, a power arose from below (such as the Intifada in Palestine and Kurdistan, or the liberation movements in El Salvador or the Philippines), which exists side by side with the reactionary government power.

This development also finds expression in the metropolises. The battles which have developed here in recent years, and in which people from different backgrounds have come together, are battles for change here and now.

On the one hand, they are directed against destructive imperialist designs. On the other hand, out of the general experience that the capitalist routine of competition and isolation of the individual is very destructive, struggles have arisen for self-determinant human relations. This is the underlying reason why movements such as the squatters' campaigns have cropped up all over Europe.

Wherever the people have achieved areas of self-determination, new possibilities and reference points for the creation of a revolutionary movement have come into being.

It is this development that they want to undo and turn around. The priority projects of the counter-revolution are the destruction of the prisoners' collectives in Spain, the suppression of prisoner uprisings in several countries, the brutal evacuation of houses that had been occupied for years, and prison sentences in Groningen [Netherlands] and Denmark, the raids and campaigns against the Haffenstrasse are parts of one and the same plan.

They move against all undertakings which, such as the port here, are an indication that it is possible to pursue one's own goals regardless of their power structure, and that instead of the capitalist 24-hour routine, a reality can be created that is determined by the individuals.

Many comrades and other people who have risen up against this system of oppression and inhumanity say that we do not have a chance of prevailing against international developments, and especially against the fascist march to power of the FRG towards a new greater-German position as a world power, because the enemy is overwhelmingly powerful and the revolutionary forces too weak.

And there is also another side to this. This resignation, amounting almost to

paralysis, prevents many initiatives which could be steps in the reconstruction of a strong revolutionary movement.

The decision to fight against the imperialist system and for a world in which people can live in self-determination and freedom cannot depend on whether one's own side or the enemy is stronger in any particular phase, i.e. whether victory is within one's grasp or must be achieved through a long-drawn-out struggle.

The commitment to the revolutionary struggle can only come from one's own experience of the system and its brutality and destructiveness, and from one's own goals and ideas of how one wants to live.

We believe that an important key for many steps, including the next, towards the creation of a revolutionary counter-power consists in becoming conscious of this experience, for this is the root of every person's commitment.

The experience of the destruction the system causes can lead to a conscious and final decision for overtuning the existing reality and for a life in self-determination and organization.

All of us now must decide to become one joint force. The decision to undertake the action against Neusel now and in conjunction with the strike in Spain is for us a new step on the way to jointly building up a counter-power in the common fight for the realization of a demand which is a focal point in the whole conflict.

We had not intended from the start to intervene in the development of the hunger strike of the Spanish comrades. Only after it became clear that, even after the murder of José Manuel Sevillano and the exacerbation of the conflicts in Spain which it caused, and the many and manifold initiatives in other Western European countries in support of the demand, the Gonzales government wants to persist in its hard line – and the realization that the Western European Bloc wants to use the destruction of the prisoners' collectives in Spain and the liquidation of the Spanish comrades to reverse the entire development and the conditions for all struggles – did we decide on armed intervention.

Only an armed operation could break this deadlock.

It can give new meaning to all initiatives undertaken up to now in connection with the strike and, most of all, it makes a new approach possible by opening up the political space for it. Every initiative that follows now will count!

It is the case now, and will continue to be so owing to the different conditions in the individual countries and the different emphasis which the strugglers in these countries are putting on it, that the anti-imperialist front in Western Europe will consist of a multitude of struggles.

We believe that it is now possible, and that it can be a first common step in the reconstruction of a strong revolutionary movement, to come to an understanding regarding the focal points of the confrontation between imperialism and liberation, in order to arrive at joint intervention.

Therefore, our attack must now be aimed in two directions, one specifically for the realization of the prisoners' demand and the building of a revolutionary counter-power in Western Europe, and the other the beginning of a long phase of struggle against the newly arisen Greater-German/Western European world power.

The FRG and the new power élites of the GDR are pursuing the same goals and imperialist plans in their step towards Greater Germany as neo-fascism.

The third attack by German capitalism in this century against the peoples of Europe will be conducted not by military means, but by economic and political means. The enslavement of millions of human beings through the principles of market, profit and production structure will bring new sorrow and misery to the people, and, this time, it will not be a matter of millions of dead and obliterated villages, but millions of oppressed and humiliated human beings who will be brought to despair because of the destruction of their way of life and human relationships, and who will perish inwardly, in their souls.

And on the basis of the new power which the FRG capital at the head of Western Europe will draw from this development, they want to launch a new round of oppression and exploitation of the peoples of the Third World.

We oppose this development with all our might because it is our mission in the international class struggle to prevent them from prevailing in this.

AGAINST THE POUNCING OF THE WESTERN EUROPEAN BEAST -
OUR LEAP TO BUILD THE REVOLUTIONARY COUNTERPOWER!

FIGHTING TOGETHER TO ACHIEVE THE REUNITING OF THE GRAPO AND
PCE(R) PRISONERS - AND THE UNITING OF ALL REVOLUTIONARY
PRISONERS AND WITH IT THE PROSPECT OF THEIR FREEDOM!

WAR ON THE WORLD POWER FRG/WESTERN EUROPE!

ORGANIZE THE ARMED STRUGGLE!

LET US FIGHT TOGETHER, AND WE SHALL PREVAIL TOGETHER!

RED ARMY FACTION
29 July 1990

Communiqué on the Strafing of the US Embassy in Bonn on 13 February 1991

SOLIDARITY WITH THE PEOPLES IN THE MIDDLE EAST AGAINST IMPERIALIST
ANNIHILATION AND SUBJECTION!
IMMEDIATE STOP TO THE GENOCIDE OF THE IRAQI PEOPLE!

Today, our *Vincenzo Spano Commando* fired on the US Embassy in Bonn because the US has been taking a leading role from the start in the war of annihilation against the Iraqi people. With this action, we are joining the ranks of all those around the world who have revolted against this US-NATO genocide.

For the imperialist states, this war is the first step towards the implementation of their new world order for after the Cold War.

The Iraqi regime has been waging war for years in the interest of imperialism; it kept Iran in check and waged a bestial extermination campaign, even with the use of poison gas, against the Kurdish people. In recent times, Iraq has been increasingly engaged in trying to extend and strengthen its own power in the region of the Middle East.

For imperialism, the Middle East is a politically unstable region. On the one hand, the struggle of the Palestinian liberation movement, the endurance of the Intifada, has created the pressure which time and again places the question of a fundamental political change on the agenda. On the other hand, it has been clear for a long time that the reigning cliques in Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Jordan, etc., are in danger of being swept away by their peoples sooner or later.

For that reason, no power is allowed to arise in this region, on whose oil the Western oil corporations and the Western European industrialized countries depend, which is not absolutely controlled by the imperialist bloc.

These are the reasons why the imperialist states are now waging this war against a former ally. Imperialism knows no morality. The comparisons between Saddam Hussein and Adolf Hitler are the propagandistic trick through which those in power want to gain the approval for this war which many people are still withholding.

But for this system, every Hitler, Shamir, Özal, Pinochet, Christian, and whatever else their names may be, is a friend as long as he serves the interests of international capitalism, no matter by what means.

For the United States, this war is a welcome chance to tie once more the question of the leadership role within the Western Bloc closely to military power, and, at the same time, it naturally wants this war to restore its neglected economy. Thus, what we are seeing in the Gulf region right now is also the competitive struggle among the imperialist nuclear states, or among the imperialist centers for future power and influence in the Middle East region and the leadership of the imperialist camp.

The [German] federal government is aware of the fact that Greater Germany needs more than the economic power of FRG capitalism to become a new world power.

To this end, the Fourth Reich needs the unleashing of its military power just as much as the Nazis did. After 45 years, the interests of German capitalism are finally to be realized with all the brutality of the machinery for war.

At this point, the preparations for this are going full tilt.

The use of the Bundeswehr in Turkey, and the way it is logistically tied into this war, are first practical steps. Via the vehicle of UN service on the part of the Bundeswehr – now that the UN, next to NATO, the IMF and the World Bank, has been turned into an instrument of imperialist wars against the oppressed nations – Greater Germany wants to gain a free hand for the military subjugation and exploitation of the world's nations.

The war in the Middle East is the war of the rich against the poor, as the comrades of November 17 in Greece have said.

The imperialist states are waging a scorched-earth style of war in Iraq. The oppressed of this earth have not forgotten since Vietnam how much death and misery the dropping of thousands of tons of bombs and the carpet-bombing of the American B-52 bombers can cause.

Israel and Turkey are using this genocide against the Iraqi people to increase their terror against the Palestinian and Kurdish people. The Turkish regime – supported by the Bundeswehr and other NATO troops – is now bombing Kurdish villages and has murdered thousands of people in the border areas. Israel is once more bombing Palestinian camps in Southern Lebanon and is terrorizing the population in the Occupied Territories. The Zionist state wants to drive the Palestinians once and for all out of the Occupied Territories and annex parts of Lebanon and Jordan.

SOLIDARITY WITH THE PALESTINIAN INTIFADA AND THE KURDISH LIBERATION STRUGGLE!

The large mobilization against this war of annihilation has surprised and frightened those in power in the FRG.

After a year in which the federal government celebrated the restoration of Greater Germany and the victory of the market economy, it now faces the fact that many people have retained a feeling for the fact that their interests coincide with those of the peoples in the Middle East rather than with those of the powerful of this world.

The weapon of psychological warfare, which the federal government and even the parties of the regular left use to denounce as racists and anti-semites all those who are protesting against this genocide, must be rendered inoperative.

The solidarity with the Iraqi people against annihilation by the imperialist forces is a part of our struggle from below against those above. Where the struggle is conducted in this spirit, the denunciations will not find a target.

The anti-imperialist struggle against this genocide is directly tied to the processes of appropriation in each individual country for the realization of

concrete vital interests of the people, or for the prevention of destructive imperialist projects.

Both are one process, in which the oppressed are building counter-power through practical steps to force the global imperialist power's retreat.

To those who in recent weeks demonstrated in the streets against this war and for peace, we want to say: you must face the fact that imperialist wars lie within the logic of the imperialist system.

In the so-called rich countries, this system produces alienation and competitive stress for the individual, a dog-eat-dog kind of jungle; all human sense of life is destroyed; instead, many are supposed to seek their identity in being an object within a system with an inculcated urge to consume.

Imperialism will always wage wars whenever its power is being challenged anywhere in the world; it will not stop imposing its determination on the vital interests of the nations – using the whole arsenal of its power, be it force, money or lies.

A life of self-determination and dignity for all, without exploitation and oppression, will be possible only when we have broken the power of the imperialist system.

One step towards that goal is the working together of the most varied initiatives against this genocide:

- the attacks of revolutionary groups everywhere in the world on the political and military power of the US and NATO
- the blockades of the arms industry, stock exchanges, and NATO military bases ... and in all initiatives, demonstrations, vigils, refusal to serve in the armed forces, or sabotage operations, through which people are beginning to fight to achieve their own consciousness, independent of the regime, about what is right and necessary.

To those people who have been holding vigils in front of the US embassy since the beginning of the Gulf War:

You may have had quite a scare. We mixed tracer bullets among our ammunition, so that you could see right away where the shooting was taking place, and that none of you would run in the wrong direction. In case you got to feel the whole fury of the pigs and Yankees afterwards, as we can well imagine, we are sorry about that.

The media are sure to announce that we almost shot you. That is bullshit; we knew all along exactly where you had your camp, and we even checked the path down along the Rhine before we began shooting.

LET'S MAKE WAR ON THE IMPERIALIST WAR!
US-NATO OUT OF THE MIDDLE EAST!
SABOTAGE! DESERT! ATTACK!

SOLIDARITY WITH THE HUNGER STRIKE OF OUR IMPRISONED
COMRADES OF DIRECT AND ACTION GRAPO/PCE-R!
CONSOLIDATION OF ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS IN WESTERN EUROPE!

SOLIDARITY WITH THE STRUGGLE OF THE POLITICAL PRISONERS IN
THE ANNIHILATION PRISONS OF THE UNITED STATES!
PREVENT THE EXECUTION OF MUMIA ABU-JAMAL!

RED ARMY FACTION
13 February 1991

Communiqué on the Assassination of Detlev Rohwedder, President of Treuhandanstalt, in Düsseldorf on 1 April 1991

FREEDOM IS POSSIBLE ONLY IN THE STRUGGLE FOR LIBERATION!

On 1 April 1991, our Ulrich Wessel Commando killed the chief of the West Berlin *Treuhandanstalt* [Trusteeship Office for East German State Property].

For 20 years, Rohwedder occupied key positions on the political and economic scene.

In the 1970s, when he was state secretary in the Economics Ministry in Bonn, he organized the overall conditions which the FRG capitalists need to produce their profits all over the world; for instance, he played a key role at that time in the deal with the fascist South African regime trading know-how for the construction of nuclear bombs for South Africa for uranium for the FRG nuclear industry. During the phase of pushing through the nuclear program, he was on the board of trustees of state-run energy companies and a member of international bodies.

But he also always sought and found ways for the smooth implementation of innumerable, frequently secret, arms exports to fascist regimes in the Third World.

Even then, Rohwedder was one of those armchair murderers who daily go over dead bodies and who in the interest of power and profits plan the misery and death of millions of human beings.

In the 1980s, Rohwedder made a name for himself as a brutal reorganizer as manager of the Hoesch Corporation. In the course of a few years, he fired two thirds of all female workers at Hoesch and led that bankrupt corporation to new profit rates. For that, he was chosen manager of the year in 1983.

The crowning of Rohwedder's career was to be his position as Bonn's governor in East Berlin. Since its annexation by the FRG, the ex-GDR has been practically a colony of the Federal Republic: the political, economic and military centers of decision are in Bonn or with West German corporations.

This colonial status was planned to be a temporary one, for the Federal Republic needs the former GDR for its big-power ambitions as a functioning capitalist component; after all, economic power is the main basis for political power here. But first, the economy of the GDR is to be systematically ruined, from the health sector to the day care system, so that the capitalists will then have a free hand for rebuilding the country according to their own specifications, with an uprooted population.

That is their plan, and the Treuhandanstalt is supposed to organize that collapse.

But the multinational corporations are at present not concerned with the economic rebuilding of the former GDR; the few chosen parts of enterprises

which they have taken over so far are most of all supposed to protect the monopolies of certain sectors. For the rest, the infrastructure is being improved – the multinationals have long since divided the spoils, from the telephone network right on the way to the energy supplies – and they are waiting until the Treuhand has torn down everything, so they can build up whatever will guarantee a profit on the world market.

The federal government chose Rohwedder to implement this plan, and with his brutality and arrogance he was the right man for the job. For him, with his profit orientation, there had never been anything in the former GDR of any value; he thought of it all as no more than a bankrupt estate:

'Forty years of socialism on the territory of the GDR have caused more damage than World War II', he once said before a group of businessmen in Vienna. Only a man who sees the world merely in terms of increasing productivity and profit rates and for whom human lives mean nothing can talk like that.

The work of the Treuhandanstalt means more for the people concerned than just the loss of their workplace, the closing of enterprises, and the orientation on the profit motive of everything that is being newly established. This process is intended to force the kind of structure on the country and the population that the international capitalist system needs. It is a matter of orienting all values on its principles, which in addition to the material misery of millions of unemployed also means poverty in the hearts and minds of the people.

Capitalist strategists of Rohwedder's ilk are out to create also the conditions for the attack on the soul of the people and its profound deformation which isolates them from each other and builds up seemingly unbreachable walls between them. For Rohwedder, the people in the former GDR were people who had lost the normal dimensions of thinking, and for that reason, Kopper, Herrhausen's successor at Deutsche Bank, is now attempting to promote 'the adjustment process in the minds' of these people.

The system of the 'free market economy' gives everyone the illusion that he might be able to secure for himself a safe place in a prosperous Greater Germany and find happiness in buying sprees, while in reality the goal is to reduce the people to stupidity and apathy through competition for ever higher consumption.

If that safe place exists at all, it is only for those who were prepared unconditionally to sell themselves better than others in the merciless competition, and who also want this kind of prosperity here, although everyone knows, or should know, that it is possible only because millions of people in the Third World are paying for it with their sweat and their blood. What counts in their scheme is elbows, egotism, performance, consumption, etc., but not the human being, life or nature.

Author R. Shernikov aptly describes the loneliness and emptiness in the life of millions of people in the rich capitalist countries:

I do not know what describes misery better than the image of a mouse in a treadmill, wearing jeans and headphones.

Whoever subjects himself to capitalist values must accept a life in isolation. Isolation is the main condition for manipulation and is the central pillar of

imperialist domination; for people who are isolated, without genuine communication, are far from even being able to imagine a different reality, together with others, and therefore far from questioning the system.

The development which changes total production in accordance with the requirements of competition on the world market is now taking on a greater momentum in the former GDR than what we know from the FRG. Ever fewer people work in high-tech production. Throughout Western Europe and other capitalist countries, the experience of the last decades has shown that in the competition between man and machine, the people always lose, and millions become unemployed forever. That is the background of the 'two-thirds society' in the FRG, which means that, for capitalism, at least one third of the people have become superfluous. These masses of people who have been simply dumped out of the production process or who are employed in what are called unqualified jobs are to be kept relatively quiescent, so that they hopelessly accept their misery, injustice and the capitalist values as a natural condition.

The system particularly needs those who have completely sold out to its values and who will be employed in privileged positions of high-tech production or the service sector. These are the so-called yuppies who live in the lap of luxury, and whose purpose in life can be reduced to the slogan 'born to shop'. The cities are restructured along their lines, with all those chi-chi stores, yuppie pubs and unaffordable gentrified apartments. This corrupted yuppie stratum and the bosses are the only ones who profit from this styled-up shit that is coming into being everywhere.

For the masses of humiliated and insulted humanity, this development means the destruction of the contexts of their lives; they are to be sidelined to grey concrete ghettos built to isolate people.

Here, the destruction of communicative contexts has been going on for a long time, and now the people in the former GDR are to be subjected to an exacerbated form of isolation and segregation.

Since the dissolution of the GDR, racism against refugees and foreigners already living here, and even discrimination against women, has flared up openly. Fascist groups have become stronger and, almost every day, there are brutal attacks on dormitories for foreigners and on representatives of the left or feminist groups.

This is certainly also due to the fact that during the SED regime, solidarity and equal rights for women were imposed by the state, forced upon society from outside. Under the surface, many did not actually want that and did not learn from it; it was prescribed by the authorities, not deep-seated or supported by many people.

On the other hand, racism and the oppression of women are an integral part of the capitalist system. It was, and still is, state policy, that propaganda campaign '*Deutschland einig Vaterland*' [Germany, our united fatherland], to make nationalism socially acceptable once more, and to promote, especially in the former GDR, the sickening chauvinist sloganeering along the lines of 'now we are somebody again – real Germans at last'. It is the state policy which with its inhumane asylum and alien legislation is backing up the position of the racists and

fascists. The borders of the rich Western European metropolis are to be closed to all those who want to come here from the Third World or the impoverished countries of Eastern Europe.

When enterprises in the former GDR are closed down, the first to be fired are the women; day-care centers are shut down, and women are to be deprived of the right to determine whether they want children and how many. As we have long known it in the FRG, Article 218, racism and the oppression of women are necessary to the imperialist Greater German state because it can thus hope that the dissatisfaction and disappointment of the people will not be directed against the system, but against those who are placed lower down in the societal hierarchy.

But fascist organizations also have a practical purpose for a capitalist state inasmuch as they can be used for terrorist operations such as the bombs at the Oktoberfest in Munich, or at the Bologna railroad station, or direct attacks on members of the political left or progressive people, as for instance the evictions of squatters from buildings in Frankfurt-on-Oder.

We see our operation against one of the architects of Greater Germany also as an operation which strikes at one of the roots of this reactionary development. It is clear, and can especially be seen from German history up to the Third Reich, that impoverishment, misery and mass unemployment do not in themselves lead to a mobilization for humane goals and against the group in power.

The dissatisfaction and disappointment of enlightened people is intended to be carefully channeled, especially by the labor unions. Their main task is to prevent labor conflicts from turning into political conflicts which would challenge the system as the cause for the desperate situation. For that purpose, labor union bosses are currently trying to place themselves at the head of the protest movement in the former GDR. The fact that after our attack on Rohwedder they immediately considered stopping the Monday demonstrations fits perfectly into this line of thought.

They call our operation 'politically catastrophic' because they are afraid that we will also be understood by the people in the GDR. Waigel immediately followed this up with the threat that if the strikes and demonstrations should continue, this would be an obstacle to investment by the corporations.

But in order to prevent many people there from even starting to come to grips with our operation, our policy and our concepts, the brain-washing machine immediately started spewing out this nonsense that we were running at the Stasi's long leash.

We have said it already in the statement on the operation against Neusel: all of us who are fighting for a human life in dignity and freedom from domination must make efforts to become a united force.

Especially today, when imperialism is landing one coup after the other in order to force its new world order on the peoples here and in the Third World – such as the Gulf War, the development towards a Greater Germany, the hard line pursued against the struggles of our imprisoned comrades, the attempts by the state to destroy all self-determined spaces of individuals, or rather to preclude them from the start – a revolutionary movement must be able to be present everywhere.

We should envisage the process of changing the entire situation only as a

process in which we build counter-power through achieving concrete demands and goals, a counter-power which together with the struggles of the peoples in the Third World can force the necessary changes against the imperialist system and achieve the liberation of the human race in a long-drawn-out struggle.

The revolutionary movement must become a real and tangible factor, real and tangible in that we must get together to the point where we can block central developments and create real changes for the people. For us, this means that, in the future, we shall also reply to attacks by the state which are aimed at reversing the entire development of revolutionary counter-power, as for instance the brutal evictions of squatters in East Berlin's Mainzerstrasse.

At any rate, we intend to be able to intervene, in addition to strategic attacks like the one against Rohwedder, also with concrete demands in current conflicts, as for instance in the operation against the US Embassy.

We want to get organized, together with others, so we can determine the phases of the struggle and achieve our common goals. We should envisage co-operating with all those who feel and experience the capitalist reality to be crushing, and who begin to organize against it to realize their own ideas and act on them.

The revolutionary movement must develop a real and tangible human perspective and thus become a lodestone for all who experience this system as oppression.

The seminal form of a new society must come into being, in which the people will begin to live together without a government in self-determination. Self-determination for us means also, for instance, not to repeat only that there are a great many questions about how the revolutionary process must go on. Self-determination also means to begin to seek answers. The entire responsibility for how the revolutionary process will be further developed lies with every one, and everyone must want this responsibility.

Whoever decides to do so can overcome the feelings of helplessness that are forced on us and attack the real problems in order to seek and find the solutions, step by step.

This includes not staying down after a defeat, but getting up again and searching for new ways: only in that way can the continuity and identifiability of a revolutionary movement develop.

The defeat of the hunger strike of 1989 of the political prisoners, when the state stuck to its hard line in spite of the greatest mobilization ever in support of a strike, and the comrades did not succeed in their demands, is still affecting us today. The real defeat for the left is not that the mobilization for supporting the demands was too weak, but that most people afterwards let go of the goal, and that they therefore can derive nothing but helplessness from this experience.

It is a question of identity for every revolutionary movement in the world to seek ways to free the political prisoners. There can be no revolutionary movement which does not care deeply for the prisoners.

THE WAY TO THE LIBERATION OF THE POLITICAL PRISONERS LEADS
THROUGH COLLOCATION!

AGAINST THE LEAP OF THE IMPERIALIST MONSTER!

OUR LEAP IN BUILDING REVOLUTIONARY COUNTERPOWER!

ACHIEVE THE CONDITIONS FOR HUMANE AND SELF-DETERMINED LIFE IN
THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE REACTIONARY GREATER GERMAN AND
WESTERN EUROPEAN PLANS FOR THE OPPRESSION AND EXPLOITATION OF
THE PEOPLE HERE AND IN THE THIRD WORLD!

Red Army Faction
4 April 1991

Communiqué, dated 10 April 1992, offering to Suspend the RAF's terrorist Campaign against the German State*

TO ALL THOSE WHO ARE SEEKING PATHS
ON WHICH A LIFE THAT IS WORTHY OF MAN
CAN BE ORGANIZED BY ADDRESSING VERY SPECIFIC ISSUES
AND IMPLEMENTED HERE AND EVERYWHERE IN THE WORLD:

That is what we are seeking too.

There are thousands of unresolved problems that are crying out for a solution and that will lead all mankind into a catastrophe unless they are tackled soon and solved.

All these problems sprang up as a result of the capitalist principle, according to which the only thing that counts is profit and power, and where people and nature play only a subordinate role.

In 1989, we, the RAF, began to apply more thought and discussion to the understanding that, for us and for all of those who have a record of resistance in the FRG, things cannot go on as they have done. We have come to the conclusion that we must seek new guidelines for a policy that is truly able to bring about changes for human life and that, in the long term, completely strips those in power of the right to determine the reality of life. This makes it necessary for us to reassess our own history and the joint history of all those who have been active in the resistance, and to think about what we did wrong and about the important experience that we or others gained, and what significance our experiences can have for the future.

Our starting point was:

1. The fact that we were all facing a completely changed situation regarding the international balance of power – the dissolution of the socialist state system, the end of the cold war. We were faced with the fact that we had failed to accomplish our objective: to achieve a breakthrough in the joint international struggle for liberation. The liberation struggles were generally too weak to hold their own against the imperialist war, which was extended to all levels.

The collapse of the socialist states, which was essentially caused by unsolved internal inconsistencies, has had a disastrous effect on millions of people throughout the world, and now all those who are fighting for liberation all around the globe have to rely solely on themselves. Nevertheless, this development has highlighted the essential fact that the struggles for liberation can develop only from each

The source of this English translation is FBIS-WEU-92-074, pp 14-17. This FBIS translation is based on the full text of the RAF communiqué as published in the *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 15 April 1992, p. 17.

people's sense of awareness of its own specific and individual history, authentic conditions and objectives. Only from this can new international power develop.

Many of our comrades from the Tricont [the Third World] have repeatedly said as much in our discussions, and in their individual countries they found and implemented the beginnings of a completely new policy – and we will do so here, as well. This shared objective makes us feel close to them.

2. We ourselves were confronted with the fact that the policy we pursued in the years before 1989 had not strengthened us politically, but weakened us. For the most varied reasons we no longer managed to attract people here, as would have been necessary to make a joint action possible.

We have realized that one vital mistake we made was not to have approached vigorously enough those who also stood up, and not to have approached at all those who had not yet stood up at all.

We have come to realize that we must look out for people and that a situation in which we, the guerrillas, make all the decisions ourselves, while the others have to follow us, cannot go on. Although we might often put it differently, this was the reality.

We very much reduced our policy to attacks against imperialist strategies, failing to look for immediate positive objectives and to show how an alternative was able to exist here and today. That it is possible to start something like that here has been shown by the experience for which others have fought.

However, our relationship with the people with whom we had the closest contact was above all determined by the objective of launching a joint attack. As a result, our rules did not even allow them to develop their own social values in everyday life and with many others, and experience these values. Only by doing that would it have been possible to achieve a policy that makes it clear to more people – including those who live outside the various ghettos of the scene – that the coldness and the powerlessness in imperialism are not preordained fate like a natural power, but stop wherever people join forces and live according to their needs, wherever they can benefit from their solidarity and begin to live out their own principles here and today.

From this we drew our conclusions and, for two years, tried to carry out a parallel process of redefinition and practical intervention. We thought that, by the way we defined our actions and the way we talked, we would be able to create a new situation and thus also the necessary conditions for joint discussion leading to a joint future that would involve many more people and groups.

It was a mistake that we conveyed our process in our statements and letters only piece by piece as the result of our discussion and not in a way that others would have been able to follow. Even this letter is only a beginning, and we will soon go into greater detail about everything.

After these two years, it has become obvious to us that this was not enough, that we were unable in this way to create the scope for the things we consider to be most important now and for the near future: the long necessary joint discussions and the development of links between the diverse groups and peoples, wherever they live, are based on the everyday life of the people in our society, which makes it so urgent

for many to take things into their own hands and seek solutions together with others.

We believe that such links could become the basis for the force that we described as a counterpower from below, but that does not yet exist in this form. So long as such a social alternative to destruction and despair cannot be felt and experienced, more and more people will be marginalized and remain alone and without hope for the future, more and more will die through hard drugs or be driven to suicide. Even more people will follow the fascists.

From our experiences and from our discussions with comrades about all these issues, we now understand that the guerrillas cannot take a central position in this development process. For everything that is now beginning and for all those who are looking for new directions, attacks by us against top officials of the state and the economy with intent to kill cannot advance the process that is now necessary because they will result in an escalation of the whole situation.

The quality of such attacks requires a clear understanding of what specific changes such attacks could begin to bring about. At a time in which we must all seek new positions on a new basis, such a clear understanding is impossible. This is how we interpret those who tell us that by carrying out such actions we anticipate the results.

WE HAVE DECIDED TO PREVENT SUCH ESCALATION. THAT MEANS THAT, IN THE PROCESS THAT IS NOW NECESSARY, WE WILL SUSPEND ATTACKS AGAINST LEADING REPRESENTATIVES OF THE ECONOMY AND THE STATE.

For us, an essential element of this process of discussion and the development of a counterpower from below is the struggle for the release of political prisoners. After 20 years of having a state of emergency imposed on the prisoners, of torture and destruction, we now want to protect their right to live – to fight for their freedom!

By announcing in January the release of some prisoners who are unfit to undergo detention or who have served long jail terms, Justice Minister Kinkel was the first official to make it clear that there are groups in the apparatus who understand that resistance and social inconsistencies cannot be countered with police-military methods.

For 20 years they have banked on destruction in connection with the prisoners. Kinkel's announcement raises the question whether, from the relationship of extermination that he displays towards all those who fight for a self-determined life, who do not bow to the power of money, and who formulate and implement their own interests and objectives against interests that are based on profit, the state is now ready.

That is to say, whether it is ready to allow room for political solutions (and it would be of advantage only if representatives of the economy were to exert pressure on the government in this connection).

We will watch very carefully to see how serious Kinkel was with this proposal. So far, it has had hardly any effect, apart from the fact that Claudia Wannersdorfer was released a few months before she was due to be released anyway. All the

others who are unfit to remain in custody – Gunter Sonnenberg, Bernd Roesner, Isable Jacob, Ali Jansen – are all still behind prison walls. Even after 20 years, Irmgard Moeller is still in jail.

Prison conditions have not improved to this day. The hearings in connection with Norbert Hofmeier, Barbara Perau and Thomas Thoene resembled the trials by inquisition. Even though she is seriously ill, Angelika Goder is threatened with imprisonment. Moreover, the announcement of new trials against prisoners as a result of state's evidence reflects the state's thirst for revenge and its objective of imprisoning the prisoners forever.

Die Welt, with reference to the Stuttgart Justice Ministry, formulates the unbroken determination to destroy others: if they had their way, Guenter, who, although unfit for detention, has been imprisoned for 15 years, would be considered for release only if he were to succumb without resistance to the repressive acts of prison harassment. He is an 'obstinate prisoner', because he shows solidarity and continues to have contacts with his friends. This is how they agitate against his release.

All this is in blatant contradiction to statements that the state is really beginning to change its position.

THOSE WHO ARE UNFIT TO UNDERGO DETENTION, THOSE WHO HAVE BEEN IMPRISONED THE LONGEST, MUST BE RELEASED IMMEDIATELY AND ALL THE OTHERS MUST BE GROUPED TOGETHER PENDING THEIR RELEASE!

Whether or not there is any movement in this connection in the foreseeable future will be an important signal; here everybody will be able to see clearly which direction prevails; whether that group of the apparatus will hold its own that understands that they must begin to make concessions in order to achieve political solutions, or whether the hardliners and fire-eaters will gain the upper hand.

This will not only be reflected in the state's attitude to the political prisoners. There are other vital areas where this signal will be immediately visible. Wherever the fighting has reached a level where they have managed to gain some room, we will soon see to what extent they approve of political solutions or whether they bank on war.

For example, whether, after 10 years of fighting, they will continue to challenge the right of the people in Haffenstrasse [a squatters' settlement in Hamburg] to exist.

Anyway, in the long term, there is much more at stake:

- There are struggles of the social prisoners against special imprisonment and, generally, against inhuman conditions in the jails. It is intolerable that the political prisoners are taken out of the destruction blocks and others put into them.

All isolation blocks must be closed down!

- There are the struggles for centers, for living and housing space for many who lack such space today.
- One will see to what extent people in the ex-GDR continue to be hastily turned

into subjects without any will of their own and cast into the capitalist system or whether they will be able to conquer some space and determine their own development.

- It is an important question how much longer the state will foment racism against refugees and treat them as 'subhuman creatures' in order to avoid its own and the economy's responsibility for unemployment, the housing shortage, poverty of the elderly, etc.; and how much longer it will be able to send these people back to the misery that the state continues to co-produce.
- It has long been a reality that the cops protect fascists and beat up antifascists, that they chase demonstrators to death, such as Connie Wissmann, that they shoot at them, and – as happened in Frankfurt a few months ago – torture refugees with electric shocks, etc.
- It remains to be seen whether German soldiers will again be able to march against other peoples, and how much longer fascist regimes will be able to massacre their people with German weapons and support.

It will, above all, depend on how all these issues – it goes without saying that we have not been able to mention everything – can be turned into social struggles, and whether it will be possible to gain some political room for solutions.

They will certainly not give in on any issue voluntarily; our demands will always require social pressure and struggles.

By preventing the conflict from escalating, we have now taken a step on our own initiative to open this political space.

It now remains to be seen how the state will react.

Since nobody can predict it at this moment, we want to protect the discussion and development process.

If those who initiate the process are annihilated through their repressive and destructive power, that is to say, if they continue to bank on war against the lower levels, then we consider the phase of halting the escalation over – we will not stand idly by and do nothing.

If they do not let us live – us, that is to say, all those who fight for a human society – then they must know that their elites cannot live either.

Although it is not in our interest, the answer to war can only be another war.

Red Army Faction

10 April 1992



4 Revolutionary Organization 17 November

Original Language (Greek): Epanastaiki Organosi
17 Noemvri

The Revolutionary Organization 17 November (17N) is a small, Marxist-Leninist, urban terrorist group that has been active in Greece since 1975. The group takes its name from the date in 1973 when the Greek military junta sent riot police backed by tanks into Athens Polytechnic Institute to stop an occupation by students demanding an end to military rule in Greece. At least 20 people were killed and 200 injured during this confrontation. Like all the other European Marxist-Leninist terrorist groups, the 17N views itself as the 'revolutionary vanguard of the working class'. The group's stated goal is to overthrow the current Greek government and replace it with a Marxist state. 17N is also attempting to force the removal of US military bases from Greece. Unlike most of the other European Marxist groups, the 17N is more responsive and quick to react to domestic issues – taxes, political scandals, labor disputes, high medical costs, etc. – which are of immediate concern to the Greek people. For these reasons, nearly two-thirds of its attacks have been aimed at Greek targets. 17N has also targeted US military and commercial interests in Greece.

TACTICS

The 17N has carried out mostly assassinations, rocket attacks and remote-detonated roadside bombings. Since no known member of 17N has ever been arrested, very little is known about its membership, internal group dynamics and organizational structure. It does appear that 17N is composed primarily of a hard-core or 'commando' unit of fewer than 20 people. It is not known if 17N has any 'legal' support or sympathizer

structure like the other European 'fighting communist organizations'. What is clear is that since 1989, 17N has significantly increased the frequency and tactical complexity of its terrorist operations. From 1975 to 1991, 17N has carried out 57 attacks in Greece. Forty-one of them have taken place since 1989.

TERRORIST LITERATURE

17N has issued only written attack communiqués and a few special communiqués. The attack communiqués are usually sent to a Greek newspaper immediately after the attack. While 17N attack communiqués are sometimes over 10 pages in length, the group, in terms of its propaganda output, is one of the least prolific European Marxist terrorist groups. Since early 1991, however, the Greek government has banned the publication of certain 17N communiqués. This policy has forced 17N to issue fewer communiqués than usual. Moreover, the Greek press, due to potential legal problems, has started to publish only excerpts from 17N communiqués – rather than the full text.

SELECTED CHRONOLOGY OF 17 NOVEMBER TERRORIST INCIDENTS

1975

23 December – Athens: Assassinated Richard Welch, a US Embassy official.

1980

16 January – Athens: Assassinated the Deputy Commander of the Athens Riot Police who was also a former intelligence officer during the Greek military junta.

1983

15 November – Athens: Assassinated US Navy Captain George Tsantes and his Greek driver.

1984

3 April – Athens: Attempted assassination of US Army Master Sergeant Robert H. Judd.

1985

21 February – Athens: Assassinated Nikos Momferatos, the publisher of *Apogevmatini*, Greece's largest conservative newspaper, and his driver.

- 26 November – Athens: Bombed a Greek police bus, killing one policeman and injuring 22 others. This is the first time that 17N had used a car bomb in an attack.
- 1986*
- 8 April – Athens: Assassinated Demitrios Angelopoulos, a Greek steel magnate and close friend of the Greek Prime Minister.
- 1987*
- 24 April – Athens: Detonated a roadside bomb as a Greek military bus passed by carrying 35 US and Greek military personnel and US military dependents. Seventeen Americans were injured, including four dependents.
- 10 August – Athens: Detonated a car bomb as a military bus passed by carrying US Air Force personnel. Ten Americans were injured.
- 1988*
- 22 January – Athens: Attempted to assassinate a US Drug Enforcement Agency special agent who was assigned to the US Embassy.
- 28 June – Athens: Assassinated US Navy Captain William Nordeen, a US Defense Attaché, by detonating a car bomb as Nordeen's vehicle passed by.
- 1989*
- 8 May – Athens: Attempted to assassinate George Petros, a former Greek Minister for Public Order, by detonating a car bomb as Petros's vehicle passed by.
- 26 September – Athens: Assassinated Pavlo Bakoyiannis, a member of the Greek Parliament and son-in-law of the Greek Prime Minister.
- 1990*
- 10 June – Athens: Fired an anti-tank rocket at the offices of Procter & Gamble, a US firm.
- 20 November – Athens: Attempted to assassinate a Greek Shipping magnate by remote-firing three anti-tank rockets as the victim's fully armored vehicle passed by.
- 16 December – Athens: Fired two anti-tank rockets at a building housing the offices of the European Community.

1991

- 29 January – Athens: Fired an anti-tank rocket at the main office of British Petroleum as a protest against the Allied war against Iraq.
- 12 March – Athens: Assassinated US Air Force Sergeant Ronald Stewart.
- 31 March – Athens: Fired an anti-tank rocket at a Greek luxury hotel.
- 31 May – Atalanti: Fired an anti-tank rocket at the Lowenbrau brewery. This was the first time that 17N had carried out an attack outside the greater Athens area.
- 16 July – Athens: Detonated a car bomb as three Turkish diplomats drove by. All three were injured.
- 7 October – Athens: Assassinated a Turkish diplomat.
- 2 November – Athens: Fired anti-tank rockets at a Greek police bus.
- 8 December – Athens: Fired anti-tank rockets at a Greek business facility.

Communiqué on the assassination in Athens on 21 February 1985 of Nikos Momferatos, publisher of *Apogevmatini*

We must strike at the fascist CIA agents among the press who daily ridicule, poison and deceive the Greek people.

It is commonly admitted that the press today is one of the primary apologists for capitalist societies, for the huge scandals in banana republics, and for businesses requiring government assistance. However, the fact that the press turns white into black through lies and omissions is probably not so apparent to the masses. So, we will mention some of the most recent gross examples of misinformation, systematic distortion of the truth, and disorientation and deceit of the people, which have occurred in order to serve the interests of imperialism and the local immoral *grand bourgeois* class. On 20 November, six bombs exploded in the center of Athens and in heavily populated areas with no specific, visible targets. Everyone connected with the press realized by whom the bombs were thrown, while others also know this from first-hand experience. Would anyone expect to find the name of the culprit in the papers? What a shortcoming. We do not see the culprit's name in the papers, and no one talks about the CIA. On the contrary, they talk about the extreme left wing which was one of the targets of the bombs. The entire sensationalist press, taking advantage of the six CIA bombs, has begun to report increasingly on past bombs of left-wing origin rather than on the most recent six bombs.

At present, the entire press has begun deliberately to distort the truth for the purpose of creating an atmosphere of alleged anarchy-terrorism so that the second phase of the implementation of the plan, which was predetermined precisely by the one who planted the CIA bomb, may become possible. Misinformation, distortion of the facts, and the concealment of the truth are complete. What is the truth? The CIA planted the bombs for general political reasons as well as for specific reasons. The more general reasons are not, of course, destabilization, because PASOK does not affect US strategic interests. On the contrary, long-term strategic interests are indeed being served in the best possible way. The objective is simply to pressure and blackmail PASOK so that it will align itself with the United States on certain issues over which there are certain disagreements, and to issue a warning that if PASOK does not fall into line with the United States then the bombings may continue with the likely result that PASOK will then lose the elections. Moreover, the objective is to create an atmosphere of insecurity so that dilemmas such as 'Karamanlis or the tanks' may recur. All of this is necessary because, on the one hand, it leads PASOK towards electing Karamanlis as president and, on the other hand, it compels voters who lean towards the center to vote for the right wing and it compels voters who lean towards the left wing to vote for other parties. Promoting nonsense about anarchy and 'terrorism' as well as

implementing the plan for combating the extreme left wing has a negative effect not only on the few hundreds of anarchists, but also on the thousands of unregistered voters who support the left wing and who are sensitive about democratic freedoms. The ultimate political goal is not destabilization but to force PASOK to vote in favor of Karamanlis and thus lose both the center and left-wing voters. This would result in a more right-wing and parliamentarily weaker government. This major operation by the centers of imperialism to lead the people by the hand and to influence elections has not been revealed by any newspaper.

In addition to the above goals, there are also special and specific goals that are pursued through the bombings.

These goals are the armed people's revolutionary movement, and particularly 17 November. Therefore, today, and under the pretext of CIA bombs, the implementation has begun of the plan which Stearns discussed with Ioannis Skoularikis last year immediately after the just execution of DIA agent Tsantes. The plan includes: 1. Surprise checks of automobiles and motorcycles, targeting 17 November members, as is admitted today, and not the people who threw the bombs on 20 November 1984; 2. A specific plan to suppress legal leftist organizations that are not represented in the Chamber of Deputies through the use of arrests and trials, involving serious charges, in the belief that they would thereby reach the 17 November organization.

This is the plan that they sporadically tried to implement when the police and the courts, using the Caravel [hotel incident] as a thin pretext, undertook mass arrests and trials, thus proving that they were acting under CIA orders completely and are merely its agents. The fact that they back tracked and decided on a postponement reflected PASOK's pre-election concerns and does not nullify the points made above.

However, in order to be fair about the issue of the bombs of 20 November 1984, we must note that PASOK yielded, without any pressure at all, to the third point in the CIA plan. PASOK allowed groups of CIA killer-agents with previous criminal service in Vietnam and El Salvador to roam Athens in armored cars bearing Greek license plates in search of the 17 November organization. They were thereby allowed to supplant the Greek police, to act without control, to search homes, and to make arrests, such as that of last March involving a purported Arab terrorist, and not only without first notifying Greek authorities, but with the assistance of Greek central intelligence agents and police under their orders, as if Greece were simply a US colony. This was a total violation of state authority on Greek soil, an absolute humiliation and a case of complete servility. Is this our national independence, and does it reflect the slogan 'out with the Americans'? Next, in order to conceal its humiliation, PASOK sought to deceive the people through the press by claiming that it had extradited the CIA chief, when in fact he had simply left for a while because he had been 'burnt' in the operation involving the arrest of the Arab 'terrorist'. He later returned to Athens, to take up, without disturbance his task of guiding the professional CIA agent-killers.

Of course, for this to take place, [a] suitable atmosphere had to be created. This was the job of the CIA agents in the press. With sensational headlines (anarchy is burgeoning), they undertook to magnify the incidents of Caravel and Exharkhia

(where 30 Molotov cocktails were allegedly found in the offices, and a well-known terrorist Pole was in charge) to create the impression among the public that Athens was under anarchist control, and to deliberately confuse the six CIA bombs of 20 November with past bombing incidents involving the extreme left, even while professing to be distinguishing between them, thus trying to instill a concept of 'terrorism' that has been imported by the CIA and the EEC and has nothing to do with Greek reality. In Greece, and for the Greek people, terrorism has always been identified either with the operation of the fascist machine, state or parastate violence, the electoral distortions of 1961 and 1965, the coup in 1967, the polytechnic in 1973, the units for the restoration of order in 1975 and 1976, the polytechnic in 1980, the units for the restoration of order and the national defense units in 1984 Exarkhia, and bombs in the theaters; or with the activities undertaken by US imperialism (1965, 1967, the Cyprus issues, the bombs of 20 November, and intervention in the Third World).

On the other hand, terrorism does not encompass just any act of violence, but only those that take place primarily to frighten the broad classes of the people, as with those noted above, the random bombs in Akadhimias Street, last year's bombs in the kiosks and those in theaters in the past.

None of the Greek people is terrorized when a torturer – and, consequently, a genuine terrorist – like Mallios [a former junta period policeman] is justly executed, or when DIA agent Tsantes or the deputy commander of the specifically anti-people terrorist corps – the units for the restoration of order and the national defense units – are executed; this is terrorism only to similar types: the CIA agents and the leaders of the predominant terrorist police corps, the units for the restoration of order and the national defense units. None of the Greek people is terrorized. However, the revolutionary popular action of 17 November for national independence, popular authority and socialism, and the just armed guerrilla activities against the CIA and its local agents are labeled 'terrorism'.

This label was mainly the work of rightist newspapers, and of certain democratic newspapers, in some cases. *Apogevmatini* was the first fiddler among the rightist newspapers to play this tune. Beyond this attempt and its more general disorientation, this particular newspaper is renowned among the Greeks for its unique record of efforts to systematically stupefy the more retarded members of the population by publicizing various love scandals, publishing photographs of semi-nudes, and pandering to the people's most vulgar instincts. The publisher and main shareholder of *Apogevmatini* is the fascist Momferatos, a junta minister who bought *Apogevmatini* with CIA money.

Thus, we see the CIA buying a newspaper – one that benefits it – so that it may control information. To do this, the CIA uses a fascist, a junta minister, who instead of being in jail because as a minister he is jointly responsible for the junta's crimes, is so brazen that he wants to guide the people. In addition to this newspaper, Momferatos, with the power he has as a chairman of the association of owners of daily newspapers, passes on various foreign confidential and secret publications of Western imperialism to other newspaper owners. Thus, he shows the line to be followed by all the press on all fundamental issues from the deal of the century to businesses that require government assistance, to Karamanlis'

election and 'terrorism'. We even see how a fascist-junta man has been transformed into a democrat, into one of the main representatives of new democracy in the press, showing us that the most clever and dangerous fascists lie within new democracy and are received with official statements by Karamanlis and not by the national political union. This transformation of the junta's people into democrats has taken place in all sectors.

We decided, therefore, to rid the country of the fascist filth, the CIA agent, the junta minister Momferatos, the owner of *Apogevmatini* with CIA money; who being in the employ of US imperialism, the major enemy of the Greek people, daily ridiculed, lied to, poisoned and deceived the people for the purpose of guiding them in their political views. Being absolutely aware of his criminal role and of the nature of his job this man was not only protected by a bodyguard but was constantly armed.

To those who will say, in view of the elections, that we are trying to obstruct change and are thus playing the game of the right, we will reply the future of change is not at stake in the elections. Change was buried a long time ago. The elections will merely choose between two rightist policies for the administration of the system. Florakis's statement that the electoral law will lead the KKE to reassess change can cause only laughter over the idea that the simple proportional system of elections can retroactively change the class content of the three-year-old social and economic policy of PASOK and can lead us to socialism. It also vividly shows that the only thing that concerns KKE is seats in the chamber, and not socialism.

However, what is different now is the fact the PASOK itself has undertaken to clarify its true objectives by selecting Karamanlis as president because thus far it has been justifying its line saying, among other things, that it has not been implementing its anti-imperialist-antimonopolist program in order to avoid clashing with the president. Therefore, from the moment it proposes Karamanlis as president it means it has no intention of change and that it abandons change and by its own will reveals itself to the people. Karamanlis is the apologist for both US domination in our country and for the local immoral grand bourgeois class, which by robbing the Greek people of hundreds of billions of drachmas and multiplying its personal fortune abroad did not hesitate to cause the decline of Greek industry. The issue of Karamanlis' election is a pivotal issue that denudes and reveals the true class content and political nature of all parties, press, organizations and people. Whoever now supports Karamanlis for president supports the retention and perpetuation of the social status of dependence and the huge economic scandals against the people, regardless of what they call themselves. Those who support Karamanlis for president do not desire any change in Greek society.

Three years of PASOK have proven conclusively that the road to reform through the parliamentary system leads nowhere, or nowhere but to the perpetuation of dependence on capitalism, with its huge scandals.

The three years have demonstrated not only that reform has been condemned, but that in practice it invariably converts naive, well-intentioned armchair socialists, in the eyes of the people, into vulgar politicians who have sold out all their principles and covenants with the people inside the chamber, have colluded with

the people's enemies, the Americans and the Western imperialists; have signed the agreement on the retention of the bases; have concluded the deal of the century [the purchase of 80 modern fighter planes]; have remained in the EEC; have refused to open the dossier on Cyprus's treason; and have sold out the Cyprus issue. Since the great swindlers of the local immoral grand-bourgeois class did not proceed with the only socially just solution, which corresponds with popular sentiment and would meet with consent, and did not nationalize the businesses that required intervention without consent, and did not nationalize the businesses that required intervention without compensating them – for their administrative control was obviously a sham – justice acquitted those businesses, and the money they thus embezzled exceeded their gross worth. All other solutions clearly reveal that things were glossed over. New Democracy, which is the principal political agent for the above group and which has agreed with them to conceal its political responsibility for the theft of hundreds of billions of drachmas from 1974 to 1981 by the grand industrialist swindlers, who refused to modernize industry's technological equipment in order to render Greek products more competitive, has now begun a dialogue with them on deindustrialization, on the transformation of Greece into the West's beach front, into a huge hotel that will depend even for essential items on imports, meaning on loans from Western banks. Finally another dialogue has been initiated with Karamanlis, the essential leader and boss of the right, who, as such, is the individual politically responsible for all of the above criminal acts against the people.

Let us reveal the press's role in the disorientation, deceit, misinformation and misguidance of the people.

Let us disclose and strike at the CIA agents and the policemen inside the press.

FOR POPULAR AUTHORITY AND SOCIALISM, THE STRUGGLE
CONTINUES!

The Revolutionary Organization of 17 November

Communiqué* on the bombing of a Greek military bus carrying US military personnel in Athens, on 24 April 1987

The prime terrorist of the people is US imperialism. Americans are in fact the murderers of the people. History teaches us that 'Divide and Conquer' is imperialism's permanent strategy. In line with this strategy and in co-operation with the local reactionary oligarchies, imperialism has established the arbitrarily designated and artificial African and Arab states. As a result of their constant local clashes and tensions, imperialism, and especially the current American imperialism, are the permanent winners.

Their strategy has created the present tragic situation in Cyprus against the backdrop of the last three decades. Having as its permanent goal not only the perpetuation of its military presence on the island, in view of Cyprus's geographical position, but also its subsequent transformation into the main advance outpost of its terrorist forces in the Middle East area, imperialism successfully played the Turkish card. It allied itself closely with the Turkish fascist militarists and significant portions of the Greek upper bourgeois class. (It is well known that the Americans selected Karamanlis as the leader of the right in 1955 because he secretly agreed to the trap treaties of Zurich and London.) Therefore, imperialism succeeded in transforming what was a secondary problem of the 1950s into a principal problem; that is, a Turkish minority of 13 per cent interspersed proportionately among all the villages of the island had no serious problems co-existing with the Greek community. The first incidents were succeeded by provocations, then the bombings of 1964, the occupation of 1974, and the current substantive partition of the island.

US imperialism succeeded by converting an anti-colonialist – anti-imperialist struggle of the 1950s into the allegedly eternal dispute between Greece and Turkey, and then by playing the role of the purportedly neutral arbitrator in order to achieve its permanent goal and establish huge military bases in the Turkish occupied zone.

The same story is being repeated in the Aegean. There is nobody in the country at this time who is not absolutely convinced that US imperialism lies behind the claims and threats of Turkish expansionist militarism, behind the recent crisis and the just checked clash. After all, we do not need proof when Weinberger's and Perle's mouthpieces confirm this with their own statements and threats. They confirm it with their admission-confession that they temporarily stopped 'SIS-MIK'. Could they really have stopped it (if they really did so) had they themselves not pulled the strings?

Why do we need proof when the prime minister himself, who for six years has

*The communiqué is back-dated to 9 April 1987.

been trying everything to consolidate the Americans' overlordship in the country and to serve their interests in the most clever and effective manner, officially denounces them as responsible for the crisis, announces the suspension of operations at the US base at Nea Makri, and threatens to close all US bases? In doing this, he in fact accepts the complete bankruptcy of his policy that the bases serve the national interests, and admits that not only can there be no national independence but not even a rudimentary defense of the country as long as the fifth column of the US bases operates in Greece.

Consequently, the policy that is based on retaining the bases and participating in NATO in order to avoid a clash with Turkey has become completely bankrupt, and Papandreaou has admitted this with his actions. This policy has led the country to its current terrible position, a position in which it is compelled to submit to the extortion of US imperialism in one of two ways. It can submit after a local and limited duration armed clash in the Aegean (a distinction should be made between a general war, which is to be ruled out, and a local clash, which will last a maximum of 2-3 days. The latter is the current goal of US imperialism and is most probable, state its mouthpieces) and then be led into negotiations, purportedly to avoid a general war. Then Greece will be forced to accept unconditional terms on all the important issues: the continental shelf, air space, the islands, the Cyprus issue, and the US bases. Alternatively Greece can submit now and accept the same terms on all the issues under the threat of 27 March without firing a single shot in its honor. These terms will remain secret of course and Papandreaou will deceive the people all the while, denying them and officially stating that he accepts no discussion outside of the *Arbitraj Compromis*. Therefore, this bankrupt policy has led our country to a position where it has to choose between 'the devil and the deep blue sea.'

The only way for the country to emerge from this situation is by a radical change in policy. There must be an immediate closure of all US bases, the 164 nuclear warheads must be removed, and Greece must withdraw from NATO. Such a change in policy is now becoming imperative, but it cannot be achieved by means of begging, diplomatic representations, or demagogic and superficial partisan statements. It can only be achieved by means of a broader mass, dynamic mobilization, and by widespread militant, determined, and violent struggles against the American imperialist presence in our country.

And this is where the KKE has shown that in the question of national independence – as well as in the question of direct social struggles and claims – it has become the tool of the *grande bourgeoisie*.

Thus, those who claim to be in the vanguard of the struggle for national independence have put their tail between their legs and have become completely idle and passive. They have let a unique opportunity pass them by; on the day of the crisis, on Friday, they failed to call hundreds of thousands of people to a militant demonstration against American imperialism at the US Embassy and, in the evening, at the Nea Makri base, and to rouse the people's anti-imperialist feelings. They have failed in the struggle to change the political situation and seize the initiative from the bourgeoisie.

With this tactic of theirs they became real bootlickers of the *grande bourgeoisie*

and Papandreaou. Our people have waged many long and bloody armed struggles for national independence. The brilliant inheritors of this tradition are today efficiently and gloriously fighting a passive paper war. They issue superficial statements and applaud with satisfaction Karolos Papoulias's trip to Sofia.

The KKE today does not represent the interests of the working class, although it still has considerable influence, part of which extends no further than itself. The recent direct struggles of the working class for its demands have fully proved that by using the workers' exploiters it is in permanent opposition to and conflict with working people at the factories, problem enterprises and all social venues. It stands for the interests of a social network which includes the aristocrats of labor; that is, the highly-paid members of the working class, trade unionists, and the small new liberal and democratic bourgeoisie of physicians, engineers, lawyers, journalists, economists, employees, bureaucrats and so forth.

This network is not of course LMAT (Lumpen Upper Bourgeois Class) or privileged, although part of it is an inferior section of the privileged; they are not the working class engaged in production or the unemployed. They have ensconced themselves somewhere, and consequently, in the event of any real mobilization and struggle for national independence or direct social demands they would not risk losing their 'chains' – their position, their job, their new car, their house in the country. Thus, it is not at all in their interest to wage any real struggle.

They have not declared any real strike (as opposed to a mere show, designed to blow dust in people's eyes, as has recently been the case) during the two hard years of austerity, to protect the working people's standard of living, which has been cut by almost half. Thus, their line is to break strikes, and persuade the real working people to accept a reduction in their wages, accept subsidies and dismissals, accept austerity. An obvious example is the way their entire machinery – as well as their secretary – was mobilized in order to break the bank employees' strike, which would have had serious repercussions for PASOK and its economic policy.

Among other things, the question arises today of a new intervention in the working class. A new policy must be drawn up to reflect the interest of the proletariat working class. It is not our job to forecast how this question will be settled, or what shape it will take. We can say, however, that an integral part of it will be all the genuine labor forces of the base, the workers' committees, groups and so forth stemming from direct, mass struggles by the workers. These must reflect real class interests, irrespective of their color, but oppose the partisan and state forces of the network of labor aristocracy and the lower bourgeoisie.

We have, therefore, decided to strike at the military forces of US imperialism in our country, by blowing up with a bomb one of the buses that carry the mercenary troops to the bases. As we have said in the past:

These forces constitute a military occupation force. Those people who offer their services as mercenaries for its principal operations, not as garbage men or street cleaners, contribute to its functioning. They are fully aware of its criminal and terrorist nature and of their role. They know that they are toying with the lives of entire nations in the area, using missiles and nuclear warheads to defend the interests of US monopolies and the international

Western Imperialist establishment, in complete disregard of the people. Consequently, those who participate in this force have a specific responsibility, as did those who took part in the German Nazi occupation forces, and we shall strike at them without warning, be they senior, middle-ranking, or junior base personnel, except for the lowest Greek and US personnel of the bases.

And as various charlatans will again begin talking of 'evil terrorists' and so forth, we point out that the mercenaries who man the bases have chosen the career of professional killer; that they or their colleagues militarily occupied Grenada not so long ago, killing innocent citizens; that they cooperate with the Contras and threaten Nicaragua with invasion; and, finally, that they took part in the mass bombing last year of an entire city, Tripoli in Libya. They even bombed hospitals and houses, killing and wounding old people, children and non-combatants.

This Nazi-type, terrorist and murderous mass attack on the non-combatants and innocent people of a sovereign state clearly and indisputably proves that the chief terrorist murderer of peoples on a mass scale is US imperialism. The struggle against it not only in our country, but throughout the world, is the most important issue and imperative of our day. It is a struggle against military arms, nuclear weapons, SDI, and Third World hunger and its exploitation, which finances US imperialism. The struggle is also against unemployment and increasing misery in the developed countries. It is being waged not only by revolutionary movements but by all peace forces who seek a new society, where peace will not be founded on the 'nuclear balance of terror'.

Therefore we address a warm comradely greeting to all the anti-imperialist forces in the area who are struggling against US imperialism. We address a comradely greeting to the brotherly Turkish people, with whom we have no quarrel; to the Kurdish and Turkish fighters who have taken up arms against the hated fascist dictatorship and its master, US imperialism, to all revolutionary Middle East movements; all the anti-imperialist revolutionary groups and organizations of Western Europe; and all mass anti-imperialist movements. We ask them to intensify the struggle against it by every means.

NO AMERICAN SHOULD REMAIN IN GREECE, TURKEY OR PALESTINE!
AMERICAN IMPERIALISTS, THE PEOPLE DO NOT WANT YOU!
TAKE YOUR BASES AND GO!
ALL US BASES SHOULD GO AT ONCE. OUT WITH NUCLEAR WEAPONS!
OUT OF NATO!
THE STRUGGLE WILL CONTINUE FOR POPULAR SOVEREIGNTY AND
SOCIALISM!

The Revolutionary Organization 17 November
ATHENS, 9 APRIL 1987

- P.S.1. Our text was already written when reports in the press, in fact the unofficial government press, fully confirmed everything we have claimed here and in the past about the US bases. These reports charge that the Nea Makri base 'neutralized' two destroyers during the Aegean Crisis by interposing false data on their radar, and that Nea Makri can 'neutralize' and render useless any ship or plane by interfering with its radar and electronic apparatus, which transmits orders automatically. This is precisely what was done in 1974 during the Turkish invasion of Cyprus.
- P.S.2. Another report by a journalist who has very close ties with various secret services again confirms what we maintained in a previous text on the Greek Army; namely, that there cannot be any national defense so long as the stratum of senior and junior officers who hold key positions and control the Army is undermined by the plethora of US and Western imperialist agents. Thus, even if a staff chief gives a correct order to strike at the enemy, this is canceled by one of the numerous members of this network which subverts and suffocates the leaders and various staff officers.

This is exactly what happened at the time of the Aegean Crisis. It was inadvertently revealed by a journalist in an effort to mislead readers about the real motives and so-called consequences of this action, and to point out a similar 'responsible' tactic to other military staff agents. Thus what was done in 1974 by the various junta puppets of the Americans, when the one was canceling the orders of the other, is still happening today.

11 April 1987
((signed)) 17 N ((November))

Communiqué* on the assassination of US Navy Captain William Nordeen in Athens on 28 June 1988

US IMPERIALISM IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE TURKISH OCCUPATION OF
CYPRUS.

US IMPERIALISM IS BEHIND THE CLAIMS OF TURKISH EXPANSIONISM.
JUNTA, NEW DEMOCRACY, PASOK, ARMED FORCES SOLD OUT CYPRUS.

Our anti-imperialist action today constitutes the second phase of the action of 23 May in which we bombed four cars belonging to diplomats of the Turkish dictatorial and racist regime.

At that time we said that, first of all, Davos constitutes a demand by US imperialism since Papandreou is its prey and there is not a Greek Army but only a NATOite army. We also said that US imperialism is behind the Turkish claims that it also is the one that organized the 1974 conspiracy in Greece, Turkey, and Cyprus which led to the Turkish invasion and occupation of Cypriot territory. The expansionist Turkish militarism is functioning today as the gendarme of US imperialism in the region.

However, in addition to US imperialism's obvious and self-evident responsibility for the Cyprus tragedy and Turkish claims, responsibilities also lie with certain sectors inside our country. Therefore, we said that the responsibility of the junta, the New Democracy, and PASOK lies at the political level, while responsibility at the military level lies with the Armed Forces from the dictatorship up to the present.

However, the responsibility of the leaders of the political world and the Army was not limited only to the period of August 1974 when the Attila II operation took place. There is a third period of responsibility which extends from that time until today.

The Greek governments under New Democracy at the beginning and PASOK later on, as well as the Army leadership, were already faced with the *fait accompli* of Turkish occupation of an independent state which followed a violent military invasion. At the same time, they also were faced with a series of escalating claims by Turkish expansionism at the expense of Greece. Over the past 14 years, in the face of all these aggressive actions, the various Greek governments and Army not only should have been but also were obliged to give a dynamic, violent answer whose form and timing they themselves should choose. This would not mean a general war, which was and is ruled out for a number of reasons, but, in the worst-case scenario, a clash limited in both area and time, lasting a maximum of two or three days. The option of dynamic action was not included in the discussions

Communiqué is back-dated to 14 June 1988.

among the established forces, who used as a pretext their myth of a generalized war in order to shake off their responsibilities. However, such an option should be included in a series of strong, dynamic responses. The mildest of such responses would be, for example, the downing of a Turkish military aircraft found violating our airspace and escalating to more serious dynamic actions. The duty of the Greek governments and Army leaders was and is to choose the dynamic answer which would be most favorable for the Greek forces in terms of area and timing. Such an action should be followed by a proposal to hold talks, which the Greek side would attend from an enhanced negotiating position.

Because there is another myth that any dynamic military action was and still is impossible, we will at this point, give an example of such an action. This, however, does not mean that we propose that such actions should be carried out, but that they are possible and feasible strictly from the military aspect.

During all these years, it should have been possible to work out and implement a plan which, under the possible prerequisite of secrecy, would have militarily strengthened the defense capabilities of the Greek Cypriots. Such a plan also would be based on sending secret and small commando teams to carry out sabotage actions in the occupied territories. Such an action is possible, does not demand mobilization or supermodern and heavy weapons but, on the contrary, a few trained and elite forces such as parachutists, commandos, and so forth for unorthodox warfare. Such an action would certainly be joined later by Greek-Cypriot refugees. Even if, as a result of possible arrests or injuries, it were uncovered that these forces were Greek, international public opinion could not condemn such an action against the Turkish conqueror. Such a course might not result in the recapture of territories, but would secure the following:

1. Create some insecurity in the Turkish sector which, in turn, would prevent the consolidation of the occupation and the creation of the present *de facto* situation;
2. Maintain the Cyprus issue as a current issue in the international arena which would serve as a reminder of occupation and the just cause of the Greek Cypriots;
3. Make the Greek Cypriots negotiating position easier; and most importantly,
4. Give a clear message to Turkish expansionism that, in the event of any aggressive action, Greece would give a dynamic response, which would have the most serious repercussions on all of Turkey's claims.

Such a policy of dynamic response was and is the duty and obligation of any politically independent Greek government, which had and has no other possible option. If such a policy were not implemented in the past, it is because both the New Democracy and PASOK governments have placed their own political interests of remaining in power above the country's national interests since such a policy clashes with the interests of US imperialism.

In other words, they have functioned as governments with low national stature and not as governments of a virtually independent country. This is why the responsibilities for the third period are concealed. They have shed a dazzling light

on the nature of the current parliamentary system. They very clearly show that both the New Democracy and PASOK leaderships are preys of US imperialism. Consequently, the current political parliamentary system, which is based on bipartisanship, is one of low national stature.

However, the Armed Forces and basically their leaders are equally responsible for what has happened since 1974. The Greek Army constitutes one of the biggest scandals in Greek society about which nobody dares to talk, even today when we have a parliamentary regime. If we take a quick glance at the Army's task in the post-war period while overlooking the fact that it is a state within a state governed by fascist internal regulations as proven by the dozens of suicides committed by privates, we will notice that it has waged a civil war, attempted a *coup d'état* in 1951, organized and actively participated in the violent and rigged elections of 1961, carried out the colonels' coup in 1967, and established the dictatorship.

The only time it was necessary for the Army to go into action as a national army to counter the Turkish invasion of Cyprus in the summer of 1974 and the period which followed, it distinguished itself by its absence.

This state of affairs becomes an open mockery and deception when we consider that, after the United States, the Greek people are burdened with the highest military expenditures in terms of the percentage of their gross national product. These expenditures total almost 7 per cent while the medium imperialist powers, such as France and Britain, which maintain extremely strong armed forces and nuclear weapons, spend about half of this, that is 3.5 to 4 per cent.

Therefore, the prerequisites for a policy of national independence are the assumption of political power by the working class (we do not mean the KKE) and its allies, as well as the implementation of a series of measures to remove the links of imperialist dependency. The minimum prerequisites at the political level are the immediate closure of the US bases and the country's withdrawal from NATO. In the economic field, the prerequisites are the nationalization of vital economic sectors and the administration of economic units by councils comprised of those who work in these units and who would be elected from the grass roots at a general assembly of the working people.

Imperialism is not interested in the peoples' national and civilizational identity, nor in their local culture. Its firm policy has been to destroy this identity in the Third World by all possible means, including violent ones. So the petty generals of the US Pentagon, the champions of Machiavellian adventurism, who determine the policy of NATO and US imperialism, are completely indifferent today whether the ratio of Greeks living in Cyprus is 80 per cent and whether they have had a long history, rich local traditions and culture, and a strong Greek national identity.

They are also indifferent to the fact that Turks comprised 18 per cent of the population and that they lived harmoniously with the Greeks as a minority, as also is the case in almost all countries, which spread throughout the villages with their own way of life and culture. They do not care about the fact that the Aegean and its islands have always been Greek. They are exclusively interested in the defense of NATO and the establishment of a gendarme against the national liberation movements in the Middle East. From this point of view – the geographical and

military points which they only care about – the best gendarme in Cyprus, the Aegean, and the airspace is Turkish fascist militarism since the Turkish mainland is adjacent to these areas. This explains the Turkish invasion in 1974 and the continuing occupation of Cypriot territory, as well as the escalating Turkish claims against our country in the Aegean, our airspace, and the continental shelf.

On the basis of the foregoing, we decided to execute a senior official of US imperialism's military forces in our country while he was traveling in an armored car with Greek plates YAM1727.

US imperialism is mainly responsible for the Cypriot tragedy, the continuing Turkish occupation of Cypriot territory, and the escalating Turkish claims at the expense of our country's sovereign rights.

Besides, even the American themselves do not hide the fact that they organized the recent hundreds of violations of Greek airspace since both US and Turkish military aircraft simultaneously participated in these violations.

As we have also declared in the past, the US military forces in our country constitute an occupation force, and as such we will strike against anyone who is a member of this force or an agent of its secret services. Our action today is the fourth anti-American anti-imperialist action in one year. The three previous actions are the bomb attack in Rendis suburb against the US military bus which was carrying military personnel who maintained US nuclear warheads in our country; the bomb attack in Kavouri, against a US bus which was carrying the mercenary staff of a fighter bomber plane which is sent on missions to terrorize and bomb Middle East countries; and the bomb which failed to explode in Filothei against (Carros), the agent of the Army's secret service DIA.

These actions will continue and intensify until the last Turkish soldier leaves Cyprus and until the last American leaves our country.

FOR NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE!

FOR THE PEOPLE'S RULE WITH THE PEOPLE'S INSTITUTIONS OF DIRECT DEMOCRACY!

FOR SOCIALISM WITH DIRECT MANAGEMENT OF ECONOMIC UNITS BY ELECTED AND REVOCABLE COUNCILS OF WORKING PEOPLE!

THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES!

Athens, 14 June 1988
Revolutionary Organization 17 November

Communiqué on the assassination of Ronald Stewart, a US Air Force Sergeant, in Athens on 12 March 1991

YESTERDAY VIETNAM, TODAY IRAQ, ON TO THE NEXT GENOCIDE!

The recent events in the war in the Persian Gulf, Iraq's acceptance of the Soviet peace plan for unconditional withdrawal from Kuwait and its rejection by the United States and the West, the launching of the ground attack, the beginning of the Iraqi withdrawal but the continuation of the Western attack, and the invasion and military occupation of southern Iraq despite statements by the West asserting that they will not enter that country's territory have eliminated any final doubts as to the real causes and goals of the war. They confirm our view that those had nothing to do with respect for international law and everything to do with the imposition of an American-dominated 'new world order' in the region by establishing new comprador regimes lacking popular support for the secure control of the flow of petroleum and at the same time the 'solution' of the permanent problems created by the expansionism of the racist state of Israel.

That this 'solution', which was chosen today owing to the unique historic opportunity granted the United States by the collapse of the Soviet Union, presupposes the total destruction of the Iraqi military machine, which was the sole significant obstacle in the region.

That this is a classic imperialist, neocolonial war where the rich, arrogant West, using the liberation of Kuwait as an excuse, has for a month devoted itself with particular zeal to the total destruction of the economy of a poor Third World country and to the genocide of its people, at the same time giving a horrific lesson/warning to all countries of the South that might in the future attempt not to kowtow. That this is a war/genocide for the purpose of perpetuating the exploitation/servitude relationship with the Third World, the regime of cheap raw materials and labor that nurtures the constantly growing gap between North and South.

This war/genocide represents the collapse of the entire ideological structure of bourgeois democracy, the entire theoretical underpinning of human rights. The war/genocide has its roots in the notorious Nazi doctrine of 'Lebensraum', which has been rechristened 'vital military interests' in the current historical period. Well, in accord with that and as its leading theoreticians have admitted with a frankness as disarming as it is cynical, dropping the resounding phrases about international law, the United States and the West 'cannot allow Saddam to control 40 per cent of the world's petroleum'. Thus they have an inalienable right to military intervention and slaughter.

If, of course, this wiped out in an instant the rights of Third World peoples,

starting with the fundamental right to national sovereignty and control of the sources of wealth and including all other rights, even the right to life for 130,000 slaughtered Iraqis, the enthusiasts of the doctrine would argue that the contradiction is merely apparent, because its central, guiding idea is the following: the West's incomparable scientific and technical superiority and predominance today prove the superiority of American and Western man to Third World man. It gives him the right to military intervention and the genocide of peoples, even if they have created glorious civilizations in the past. It gives the West the right to impose its institutions and one-dimensional man everywhere by fire and sword, to block the creation of any different model of society to the greater glory of cultural pluralism and co-existence.

So, they may have leveled a country and annihilated 130,00 human beings, but they were not Westerners. They were Arabs, Iraqis, Mohammedans. Thus, rights belong not to 'human beings' but to Westerners, even if they are pets. Better a dog in the West than a human being in the Third World. That is known as the triumph of Western universal, ecumenical values in the context of capitalism.

This ignorant, uncivilized, narrow-minded and racist theory has always existed in the West of course, ever since the last century, although it was restricted to certain circles in the former aristocracy and extreme right. Today, however, it has become the dominant view in the West, tacitly accepted by the great majority of the population, even by portions of the left. Thus, it is no accident that traditional Western anti-Semitism has been replaced today in all large Western countries by anti-Arab/anti-Islamic racism, which is all the rage today in terms of mass morals, prejudices and daily behavior. It is no accident that – apart from small minorities – no strong mass movement arose to oppose the genocide and that according to the polls, overwhelming majorities favor it.

At the same time, bourgeois democracy's much-lauded tolerance is disappearing and being replaced by censorship, intolerance and fanaticism. We are seeing not only [Greek] Junta-style bans on Beatles songs, the absence of any in-depth dialogue on the highly important question of the necessity for the war, but also a violent campaign against personalities – even former ministers of the right – who are written off en bloc as 'Saddamites' because they oppose the war/genocide, even if they do so from the viewpoint of what is best for the West's long-term interests in the region. In today's pluralistic and tolerant West, whoever is against the genocide of the people of Iraq is a 'Saddamite'.

Although one could write whole books about the practices and incredibility of the Western mass media throughout the crisis and war, just two examples will suffice to prove that at critical moments they told terrible lies, misled and directed Western public opinion. But then how could it be otherwise, when, for example, the American television network NBC belongs to General Electric, one of the main manufacturers of weapons for the American Pentagon?

The first example is Saddam's supposed behavior up to the 15 January deadline. Throughout that critical period of war preparation, they told us that Saddam was intransigent and refused to discuss any Western proposal to withdraw from Kuwait and avoid war. However, during the bombing of Baghdad, Iraq published the minutes of the discussions between Perez de Cuellar and Saddam,

revealing that the latter was willing to withdraw from Kuwait, on condition that there be negotiations on Iraq's legitimate claims. Thus it was not Saddam who was intransigent and caused the war but the United States and the West, who had decided on it in advance. Of course, the Western mass media took special care to cover this up, because, if it had become known, it would not have been possible to secure a consensus to attack and level Iraq.

The second example is the period after 21 February, when Iraq accepted the Soviet peace plan for total, unconditional withdrawal from Kuwait, and the United States responded with the sham ultimatum giving Iraq 24-hours to withdraw.

Once again the Western mass media misled the public by concealing the fact that the United States had blocked the withdrawal, since it stepped up its bombing both in Kuwait and in Iraq precisely during the 24 hour period. They concealed the fact that Iraq could not withdraw because of the American bombs, napalm and FAEs [fuel air explosives] raining down on its forces, and consequently that the ultimatum was a total sham.

By thus lulling world public opinion, they permitted the launching of the ground attack and the holocaust on the Kuwait-Basra highway, the invasion and occupation of Iraqi territory – all of which was necessary to the effort to overthrow the Baath regime.

So, in those critical moments, the Western mass media functioned not as an organ of free, pluralistic information for responsible citizens but merely as a Goebbels-style propaganda machine typical of classic dictatorships. For that matter, if we compare the practices of the corresponding machine in the Iraqi dictatorship, we will find absolutely no essential difference, which is perfect confirmation of our statement.

The specific strategy used in Iraq opens a glorious new chapter in the art of war. Even though the bombing of non-military targets was banned by the law of war in the early days of air power since it caused civilian casualties, it was none the less done in the Second World War by both Hitler and the Anglo-American allies. After the war it was used on a large scale, particularly in Korea and Vietnam by the Americans and in Lebanon by the Israelis, in actions that have been described as crimes against humanity.

Never, however, had it been done on such a large scale as in Iraq, as a primary leg of a war strategy, in implementation of an idea as simplistic as it was horrifying: we will attack a country with all sorts of bombs, missiles, napalm and FAE bombs (these remove the oxygen from large areas, killing all living organisms). Indifferent to the tens of thousands of casualties, as proved *inter alia* by the 500 carbonized women and children in the Baghdad bomb shelter – victims of the Americans – and by the 130 civilians in the al-Falluja market – victims of the British – we will bomb the country as long as it takes until we totally destroy the entire economy, until not a factory is operating – not even milk factories – until the transport system is paralysed, until we make the enemy collapse from hunger, thirst, lack of sleep (because of the bombings), sickness and hardship. And then we will begin the ground attack.

Wiping out with a stroke of a pen the classic distinction between military and non-military targets and between the enemy combatant and the civilian population

on which the 'law of war' was based, this strategy forms the penultimate stage – the ultimate stage being the use of nuclear bombs – in the world's backward march to animal barbarity, from a specific social system known as capitalism.

The total destruction for decades of a poor Third World country and the genocide of 130,000 Iraqis, most of them civilians, constitute a crime against humanity committed by the governments of the West headed by that of the United States. They constitute the triumph of Western parliamentary Nazism. After Vietnam, where the United States destroyed a poor country for 100 years – not least ecologically – and annihilated 1.4 million Vietnamese, after Algeria, where in five years 'democratic' France annihilated 1 million Algerians out of a total population of 10 million, came Iraq, where in one month Western humanists annihilated 130,000 Iraqis and destroyed the country. Vietnam, Algeria and Iraq are the Auschwitzes and the Gulags of Western parliamentary totalitarianism, of parliamentary capitalism.

Thus, we decide to attack the criminal genocide machine known as the US Armed Forces, executing one of the professional mercenary killers from the Elliniko Base. As we have declared in the past, we will continue to attack these murderers, whether they are working at the American bases in our country or have come to vacation on our islands, until the last American mercenary leaves our country and the last Turkish soldier leaves Cyprus.

We await with interest and contrition the usual stereotyped statements from the various trash in politics, journalism and American servitude, who, like innocent doves, will condemn with 'abhorrence' 17 November's criminal violation of the right to life, whereas, complicitously silent and unmoved, they did not see any such violation in the genocide of 130,000 Iraqis over the period of a month.

Revolutionary Organization 17 November
Athens, 12 March 1991

- P.S.1. We take responsibility for the five bombs we placed in five buses on Monday evening. They belonged to companies that had acted as scabs, violating workers' right to strike. All of the companies to which the buses belonged that we attacked had run buses during the strike.
2. Almost two months have passed since the MAT used their chemical weapons, tear gas and suffocation gas to crush a peaceful demonstration, causing the fire in the K. Marousis store, the death of four citizens, and the injury of dozens of others, and our 'democratic' regime has not lifted a finger to prosecute and punish those responsible for that crime. Consequently, and in accordance with earlier statements that we would repay in the same coin those responsible for any wholesale use of tear gas and suffocating gas against innocent persons, they themselves and their 'democratic' regime will be responsible for anything that happens to them.

Communiqué on the assassination of a Turkish Diplomat in Athens on 7 October 1991

In our last leaflet, we explained the reasons why no Greek can accept a solution to the Cyprus issue which does not include the withdrawal of all the Turkish occupation troops and the return of all Greek Cypriot refugees to their homes. We explained why any solution that does not include these *sine qua non* conditions would violate the principles of international law – which cannot be selectively valid only for Kuwait. Specifically, it would be a new crime on the part of the United States, the EEC, and fascist Turkey against Hellenism, because it would mean the West's official recognition and acceptance of the crime of Turkish expansionism, the violent Turkish invasion, and the 17-year occupation of one-third of Cyprus' territory.

We explained how Bush and US imperialism have been trying to impose such a solution through the agent government of petty Mitsotakis. We also explained how the Greek government's policies – from the National Radical Union (ERE) period, to Khounda, and until today – constituted a trend of continuous concession toward the ever-increasing Turkish pursuits, a continuous Munich. A Munich which has been brought about – at least for the political reform period – not only by governments, but also by the House of Representatives, the political parties, the Army, the press, and the major organizations, because they have shown their readiness to sell everything to gain good relations with their allies. To accomplish their aims 'they play dumb'.

For example, which newspaper or reporter dared to reveal the truth about the role of the politician who will go down in history as the first to dig the grave of the Cyprus issue? Karamanlis became prime minister in 1955, after being selected by the English-Americans and after signing secret agreements with them for the sale of Cyprus and for the Zurich and London treaties, which were the root causes of the later developments and the current situation because they gave the Turkish minority outrageous rights and provided for the right of military interference. The honest reporters or writers – who can be counted on the fingers of one hand – who had the courage to denounce this were professionally destroyed and pushed into a dark obscurity.

A continuous Munich which, as we have explained, drove the country to become helpless and paralysed, unable to face Turkish expansionism's new conquests – the occupation of one-third of Cyprus, and the pursuits in the Aegean, the basin, the airspace, Thrace, the Dodecanese, and elsewhere.

Only the immediate mobilization of the people can reverse this continuous Munich implemented by the agent politicians, military officers and publishers, and can place a determined barrier against the continuous betrayal and sale of the country.

This is why we decided to execute Cetin Gorgu, the Turkish embassy's press attaché, to follow up the violent attack of 16 July against the Turkish diplomat in

Psikhikon. This man was using his position to promote the interests of Turkish expansionism, and, among other things, he was working to prolong the crime of invasion and occupation of one-third of Cyprus for the purpose of imposing a Turkish political-military solution on the Cyprus issue. We will continue to attack everyone who holds an official position in the Turkish political-military apparatus and therefore has specific responsibilities for all crimes against Cypriot Hellenism. They will bear this responsibility until all Cypriot refugees have returned to their occupied villages and houses, and until the last US soldier leaves our country – as everyone knows that US imperialism is behind the Turkish efforts. We repeat that our activity is not directed against the Turkish people but against the fascist policy of the Turkish political-military apparatus. Besides, the Turkish people are also a victim of this apparatus.

Finally, we will repeat here the question that every Greek citizen asks the West which so relentlessly condemns the violators of international law and is so faithful to principles, ethics and rights:

'On what justice, what moral law, what nationality right, does the Turkish minority, which represents 18 per cent of the whole island's population, base its claim to separation and division? The 25 per cent Kurdish minority consisting of 12 million Kurds – 5 million of whom are in Turkish Kurdistan – do not have a right to separation or the creation of an autonomous Kurdish state, which in any case was provided for in the Treaty of Sèvres.

'What justice, what moral law, and what nationality right make the Pacific or Atlantic islands, which are thousands of miles away from the big cities and have minorities of white colonists, such as Micronesia or Hawaii, American? What makes Melanesia or the Falklands Islands British? What makes New Caledonia, the Polynesian Islands, or Tahiti French? Is it not right that Cyprus, which has had an 82 per cent Greek population for thousands of years, be Greek?'

Revolutionary Organization 17 November
October 7, 1991



5 | First of October Anti-Fascist Resistance Groups

Original Language (Spanish): Grupos de Resistencia Antifascista, Primero de Octubre

The First of October Anti-Fascist Resistance Groups (GRAPO) is a small Marxist-Leninist, urban terrorist group that has been active in Spain since 1975. GRAPO is the terrorist arm of the outlawed Communist Party of Spain – reconstituted (PCE-r in Spanish) which split from the Communist Party of Spain in 1975. The name GRAPO comes from the date in 1975 when the group carried out its first action. GRAPO is a fighting communist organization whose goal is to overthrow the Spanish government and replace it with a proletarian dictatorship. Like the RAF in Germany, GRAPO has demonstrated a unique ability to reorganize after the arrests (in 1979 and 1985) of its leadership cadre. GRAPO has also tried to develop a strong and active prison front of imprisoned members who, like the RAF, have periodically used the hunger strike as a propaganda weapon and catalyst for terrorist activity. Two imprisoned members died during these hunger strikes – an unusual occurrence for a fighting communist organization. In the 1970s, GRAPO was estimated at some 200 members, including support personnel. However, arrests over the years have reduced the present-day GRAPO to a much smaller band of fewer than 15 members. From 1975 to 1991, the group was responsible for over 300 terrorist actions in Spain that caused more than 90 fatalities.

TACTICS

GRAPO has carried out, in order of frequency, assassinations, bombings, kidnappings and bank robberies. It has directed the brunt of its terrorist campaign against Spanish targets. However, occasional attacks have also been directed at American, German and French targets in Spain.

TERRORIST LITERATURE

The group has issued periodic attack communiqués and given several interviews to the underground media. It has also issued several pamphlets containing GRAPO's ideological positions. One of the more important pamphlets was distributed in May 1979 and called *Experiencias de tres años de Lucha Armada* (Experiences from Three Years of Armed Struggle). Given that GRAPO is the militant arm of the PCE-r, GRAPO views are also reflected in publications of the PCE-r, such as *Resistencia* – the official propaganda organ of the PCE-r. GRAPO communiqués and letters from imprisoned GRAPO members (usually signed collectively, such as 'The Karl Marx Commune', etc.) have also been published in various European underground journals.

SELECTED CHRONOLOGY OF TERRORIST INCIDENTS

1977

24 January – Madrid: Kidnapped the President of the Supreme Military Tribunal and former Spanish Army Chief of Staff. The hostage was freed during a police raid on the kidnappers' hideout in February.

17 May

– Madrid: Bombed the United States Information Service Cultural Center on the day of Vice President Mondale's arrival in Madrid for an official visit.

1978

23 March

– Madrid: Assassinated the Director General of the Penal Institutions.

21 July

– Madrid: Assassinated a Spanish Army Lieutenant-General and his aide.

1979

9 January

– Madrid: Assassinated a judge from the Madrid Supreme Court.

12 February

– Madrid: Bombed the French Embassy.

5 March

– Barcelona: Assassinated a Spanish Army Brigadier-General.

25 May

– Madrid: Assassinated a Spanish Army Lieutenant-General and his military aide.

- 16 July - Madrid: The police arrested several members of GRAPO who were planning an attack on a high-ranking US military officer in a US military housing complex near Torrejon Air Base.

1980

- 2 September - Barcelona: Assassinated a Spanish Army Brigadier-General.

- 8 August - Madrid: Bombed the Bank of America office.

- 8 August - Barcelona: Bombed a Sears Department Store.

1984

- 6 September - Madrid: Assassinated a Spanish businessman.

- 6 September - Seville: Assassinated a Spanish businessman.

- 6 September - La Coruna: Attempted assassination of a Spanish businessman.

1988

- 27 May - La Coruna: Assassinated a Galician businessman.

1989

- 3 December - Madrid: Attempted assassination of a Spanish Army officer.

- 14 December - Valencia: Attempted assassination of a Spanish Army officer.

- 28 December - Gijon: Assassinated two Spanish national policemen.

1990

- 27 March - Zaragoza: Assassinated a Spanish doctor who forced three GRAPO prisoners who were on hunger strike in prison.

- 18 May - Valencia: Bombed the office of a finance company, killing the director and injuring seven people.

- 15 June - Valladolid: Assassinated a Spanish Army officer.

- 16 September - Madrid: Bombed the Stock Exchange.

- 26 October - Madrid: Spanish police arrested five members of GRAPO as they were preparing to kidnap a retired Spanish industrialist.

- 28 November - Barcelona: Bombed the offices of the Regional Catalan Administration and the central government's Ministry of Finance.

1991

- 21 February - Cordoba, Spain: Bombed an oil pipeline supplying Rota, the home of a joint US-Spanish naval base.

- 7 June - Madrid: Exploded a bomb outside the home of the former Spanish national prisons director.

- 16 September - Barcelona: Bombed an oil pipeline and gas pipeline just north of Barcelona, site of the 1992 Summer Olympics.

- 17 October - Ciudad Real: Detonated two bombs along the high-speed railway line between Ciudad Real and Puertollano. This line connects Madrid and Seville, site of the 1992 World's Fair. A third bomb was found and defused.

Communiqué on the Bombing of a Government Building in Valencia, the Assassination of a National Policeman in Valencia and of a Member of the Guardia Civil in Corogna in April 1983

To the working class, to all peoples oppressed by the Spanish fascist state: our armed people's resistance organization takes responsibility for the following operations:

- 13 April: Bombing of the Valencia city administration building.
- 19 April: Execution of Emilio Garcia Martinez, lieutenant in the National Police in Valencia.
- 29 April: Execution of Placido Pedreira of the Guardia Civil in Corogna.

These operations were undertaken in response to the terrorist campaign by the Government of the PSOE [Socialist Party of Spain]. Within a single month, it has killed six persons in the town halls [prisons] of Sevilla and Valencia and has militarily occupied whole city districts and villages, terrorizing the population by their usual practices, operations which they have been conducting under the protection of the anti-terror law especially in Euskadi [Basque region] and Madrid.

Massive raids in the individual city districts and towns, innumerable murders, horrible torture, 'PSOE style', in the commissariats and barracks, the merciless hunting down of revolutionary men and women, encouragement of informers through offers of money, the law on penitents, the development of the most sophisticated methods of torture at the posts with the greatest responsibility for oppression, long prison terms for anti-fascists, democrats and revolutionaries, giving free rein to the fascist murderers and to the hysterical screams of Barrionuevo and company, praise for the mercenaries (paid oppressors) at wild demonstrations by the masses which participate in large demonstrations. This is, by and large, the 'new' terrorist policy of the government, this is the solution which the PSOE - like all its predecessors - wants to impose in order to silence all those voices which cry for freedom and social improvement for our people and proclaim exploitation as the greatest inhumanity.

In this whole campaign, we must stress the even more unlimited use of the mass media, which this government abuses to an even worse extent than its predecessors; with few exceptions, they do not hesitate to spread the biggest lies and calumny about the revolutionary organizations; by their way of writing, they encourage the torturers and active co-operation with reactionaries by their false representation of the facts, and thus they are also enemies of our people. They speak of the collaboration of the citizenry and cover up the perversions of the forces of repression; they speak of freedom and democracy, while ignoring as best they can the fact that more than 700 political antifascist prisoners continue to be

held and oppressed under inhuman conditions. They speak of the 'dirty goals' of the armed organizations of the people and keep silent on these organizations' democratic and social concerns and the obviously anti-fascist character of their struggle.

But in spite of the demagoguery and blather of the Socialists and scribblers, they will not achieve anything. If the government continues to intensify its terrorist policy, if it continues to cause thousands to become unemployed every month, if it refuses the most minimal political freedoms, all that the government and its party, the PSOE, will achieve by that will be an even greater crisis and open revolutionary warfare in this country. And this is indeed what will happen, for the people will join the guerrilla *en masse* in order to fight the reactionary forces in the only possible way, and thus to gain real freedom.

When our organization declared a total cease-fire on the basis of the electoral promises of the PSOE, we showed our good faith for achieving a political solution of the acute crisis in the country. Since then, and after several tries in the course of these last six months, we have repeated that the only possible solution for the pacification of the country is AMNESTY AND POLITICAL FREEDOM FOR ALL, and, in spite of all the lies spread by the press, we have shown our determination and our willingness for dialog and have proved the populist nature of our goals.

As always, it is the government which, by answering our call with murder, torture and exploitation, has once more broken its electoral promises.

Therefore, we, the GRAPO, repeat that we will continue to attack fiercely, because there will not be any real changes. Our targets will be the repressive apparatus of the state, the monopolies and their highest representatives. We repeat once more: Real change, the solution of the problems of our society lies in the concretization of the points of the KAS alternative for Euskadi and the five-point program for the rest of the state.

1. Total amnesty, lifting of all repressive laws.
 2. Purge of the state institutions and the repressive forces of their fascist elements.
 3. Bread and work for all. Down with unemployment and the misery of the people.
 4. Getting out of NATO, no Yankee bases in our country.
 5. Full political and union freedom. Dissolution of the fascist parliament. New elections and creation of a new, truly democratic constitution. The right for self-determination for Galicia, Euskadi, and Catalonia.
- REVOLUTIONARY VIOLENCE AGAINST STATE TERRORISM!!
LONG LIVE THE ARMED REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE!!
THERE WILL BE NO PEACE WITHOUT AMNESTY AND POLITICAL
FREEDOM FOR ALL!!
FREEDOM OR DEATH!! WE SHALL BE VICTORIOUS!!

GRAPO
May 1983

Communiqué Claiming Credit for the Bombings of Spanish Government and Business Offices on 29 September 1982

To all peoples oppressed by the fascist Spanish State:

In the early morning of 29 September, combat groups from our organization conducted sabotage operations in various cities in the State against the following official organs and capitalist enterprises:

- Alicante – electric transformer belonging to the *Compañía Hidroeléctrica Española* [Spanish Hydroelectric Company];
- Barcelona – offices of Standard Electric;
– warehouses of *Lípidos Ibéricos*;
- Castellón – courthouse;
– electric transformer belonging to the *Compañía Hidroeléctrica Española*;
- Córdoba – National Employment Institute office;
- León – local office of the Ministry of Public Works and City Planning;
– local office of the Ministry of Health;
- Madrid – National Identity Document offices;
– tax collection office on Calle Matilde Hernández;
– local office of INSALUD;
– local office of the Ministry of Labor;
- Mataró – court building;
– office of the Urban Property Chamber;
- Oviedo – local office of the Ministry of Labor;
- Pontevedra – provincial local office building;
- Huelva – local office of the Ministry of Education and Science;
- Tarragona – Treasury tax collection offices;
– Employment office;
- Valencia – offices of the *Compañía Hidroeléctrica Española*;
– Police station;
- Vugi – Employment office;
– El Troncal electric substation belonging to FENOSA;
- Seville – local office of the Ministry of Finance;
– provincial office of the Junta Social Services.

All these operations, as well as those conducted in the last month by our organizations, are part of the struggle for victory of the Five Point Program:

1. Complete amnesty. Repeal of all repressive laws;

2. Purging of all fascist members of the repressive forces and other State institutions;
3. Bread and work for everyone. Down with unemployment and misery among the people.
4. Removal of NATO. Removal of Yankee bases from our country;
5. Full political and union rights. Dissolution of the fascist Parliament. New elections and the drafting of a truly democratic constitution. Right of self-determination for Galicia, Euskadi and Catalonia.

For four years, our organization has been reiterating this program as an alternative to the serious crisis being experienced by the people. Yet the government's response has always been assassination and the cruelest repression against our guerrilla warriors, the communists and anti-fascists, and all the people, and the implementation by fire and sword of their plans of over-exploitation and misery.

This repression has reached the most savage levels in the past year and a half: many fighters have been murdered at police stations and barracks, in prison, or in ambushes planned by the police and the civil guard; worker and popular demonstrations have been savagely attacked and, on numerous occasions, shot at; unemployment and misery among the people have increased unceasingly, having reached 2.5 million unemployed and, with the new reorganization plans, hundreds of thousands of people are condemned to join the list; thousands of people have been indiscriminately arrested and savagely tortured. In the meantime, the government, with the consent and active support of the domesticated parties, spends many millions on weapons and on providing their repressive forces with more technical and human resources or, as now, on a propaganda campaign of poison to assist the new electoral charade.

Under these conditions of over-exploitation and terror, the objective of the electoral charade of 28 October is nothing more than to replace some names with others at the head of the government to create certain illusions and be able to continue with the same criminal plans as always, increasing even more their policy of terror and misery against the people. But, once again, the oligarchic classes are mistaken. The people demand a real change and, for this reason, any solution to the present situation is tolerated so that the government will agree to the just popular claims. Either that, or there will be open confrontation with the popular forces.

The government and its lackeys and supporters should pay attention: neither our organization nor the people oppressed by the exploiting and murdering State will allow our popular rights and freedoms to continue to be trampled. If there is no amnesty, if our country does not leave NATO, if the living conditions of the people are not improved, if the fascist members of the repressive forces, the Army, and the institutions of the State are not purged, if the right of self-determination of the nationalities is not granted ... the popular resistance struggle will continue to increase every day and our organization will continue to strike relentlessly against the monopolies, the institutions of the State and its forces of repression, and all those who are part of it and support it.

We have chosen this moment to undertake an operation of such magnitude

because it is the seventh anniversary of the execution of five revolutionaries and patriots, which occurred on 27 September 1975, and also because it is the seventh anniversary of the creation of GRAPO, and, finally, because the regime is beginning its campaign of poison in preparation for the electoral farce of 28 October, not only without changing anything, but by murdering the best children of the people, such as ETA(m) militant Fernando Barrio Olano, who was foully murdered in San Sebastián last 26 September.

Our organization is calling on all peoples oppressed by the fascist Spanish State, all democrats and anti-fascists, young people, women, intellectuals, to conduct a widespread boycott of the electoral farce of 28 October.

JOIN OUR STRUGGLE TO GAIN AUTHENTIC FREEDOMS!

NOT ONE VOTE BY THE PEOPLE FOR FASCISM AND ITS LACKEYS!

ACTIVE BOYCOTT OF THE ELECTORAL FARCE!

LONG LIVE THE ARMED STRUGGLE!

WE SHALL BE VICTORIOUS!

*Grupos de Resistencia Antifascista
Primero de Octubre (GRAPO)*

[First of October Anti-Fascist Resistance Groups.]
September 1982

Communiqué on the armed propaganda actions in Madrid, Seville, Sabadell and La Coruna on 16 February 1984

To the working class and all peoples oppressed by the Spanish fascist state:

Today, 16 February, some of our operational commandos executed a series of actions of a mainly propaganda character, i.e. flags of the People's Republic were hoisted, and objects designed for the exploitation and repression of the masses of the people were bombed:

- Madrid - bombing of an employment office and putting up flags and banners.
- Seville - bombing of the city transportation authority which has just raised Metro and bus fares; five buses were partially destroyed!
- Sabadell - bombing of a torturer of the *cuerpo superior de policía* [senior police officer corps]
- La Coruna - putting up flags

Through these operations on this particular day, which has such great political significance for all the peoples of Spain, we want to denounce the continuity of the unchanged fascist and criminal regime, which by force of arms and terror has prevailed against the will of the people which had expressed itself on 16 February 1936 in the triumph of the FRENTE POPULAR.

... after the death of the murderer Franco, the 'reforms', 'changes', and other political maneuvers had no other purpose than to clean up the regime's image and to cover it with a 'democratic' or 'socialist' mantle; and all that for the sole purpose of further increasing the exploitation of the masses.

... but the demagoguery could not deliver much. Thus, when their mask was torn off, they threw themselves without any scruples into this most exploitative, repressive, militaristic and reactionary policy, closing off any political way out which could initiate a period of peaceful struggle that might take place on the basis of the KAS program and the five-point program. On the contrary, the norm which has been established is that of arbitrary drastic changes, unemployment, taxes, NATO, torture, the dirty war ... Therefore we must see clearly from now on that any further insistence on democratic forms which [they] have already chucked aside is tantamount to encouraging false illusions and to leaving the initiative to them ...

... Thus there is no other way out than the destruction of the fascist regime and the expropriation of the monopolies. Only then will the people be able to enjoy real freedom, and only in that way can the economic, political, social, cultural, national and other problems be solved. Only in that way will we be able to re-establish the REPUBLICA POPULAR and move in the direction towards socialism.

... our operations were intended to show that this is the only remaining alternative today because the reactionary forces have closed all doors.

... and we can't even dream of achieving this through elections ...

... instead, we must strengthen and develop the guerrilla until it transforms itself into the people's army, which, together with the political resistance movement, will at last crush the reactionary forces like an iron fist forever, regardless of what disguise they are wearing.

Today more than ever, every worker, every working woman, every unemployed person and every young person must take up arms against the monopolistic police state and must support the guerrilla.

LONG LIVE THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC!

ETERNAL HONOR TO THOSE WHO DIED IN THE ANTI-FASCIST STRUGGLE!

LONG LIVE THE ARMED REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE!

WE SHALL BE VICTORIOUS!

GRAPO
16 February 1984

Communiqué, dated 12 January 1985, from GRAPO prisoners on the hunger strike by imprisoned RAF members

The militants from the (reconstituted) Communist Party of Spain (PCE-r) and the antifascist resistance groups First of October (GRAPO), as well as prisoners in various prisons of the Spanish fascist regime, in support of and in solidarity with the 41 fighters from the German Red Army Faction and the anti-imperialist resistance movement who have been on a hunger strike since December, which has even brought communist fighter Christian Klar to the brink of death, declare the following:

We denounce the extermination plans which the German monopolistic oligarchy has been pursuing for years with the support of the social-fascist parties, whose objectives go as far as the physical and moral annihilation of all political prisoners belonging to the revolutionary vanguard of the German people. These plans are part of a terrorist policy of the state aimed at suppressing any attempt at resistance to the interests of big capitalism and imperialism.

The revolutionary upswing of the European proletariat has developed within the framework of the deepest economic and political crisis which capitalism has experienced in all of its history. In order to slow down this openly revolutionary process, the European oligarchies have turned the territory of their states into veritable penitentiaries in which the political control of the population, the emergency laws, anti-terror laws, and the militarization of the entire society are reaching their culmination in the extermination prisons, the number of which has grown in all European countries. This whole international repressive strategy which is supported by Yankee imperialism, is being upheld in veritable police states and through the complete demolition of freedoms.

A reflection of this situation are the destructive conditions (isolation, torture, and inhuman harassment) to which the German prisoners are subjected, some of whom have died in the course of the last few years, murdered in their cells, while most of them have suffered massive damage to their health. Stammheim, Lübeck, Celle, and other prisons in which about 100 communists and revolutionaries are interned, have not been able to break their resistance.

The numerous hunger strikes and other forms of rejection which have been carried out in the last few years have created a movement of solidarity within the working class and other German democrats which has spread to different countries in Europe including Spain.

In our country, the resistance movements and the vanguard organizations have decided to support the struggle carried on by the German revolutionaries in the prisons, they have denounced the terrorist policy of the German police state and have come to approve all armed and other actions developed by the fighters of the Red Army Faction and other organizations against the monopolistic regime and against imperialism.

At the same time as we are encouraging the continuation of the hunger strike until humane conditions have been achieved, we express our internationalist solidarity with all German revolutionaries who are resisting inside and outside the prisons.

The memory of our comrade Crespo, who died during the hunger strike of 1981, combines with the memory of Holger Meins and Sigurd Debus, who died in the same struggle. And thus we also declare that neither the whole repressive machinery of the European states nor all the special legislation, the murders, tortures, and extermination prisons used against the nations and their revolutionary organizations can slow down the development of a broad-based resistance movement, nor can they prevent new decisive victories over monopolism and imperialism.

After all, we Spanish Communists are aware of the fact that the resurgence of proletarian internationalism in Europe will be possible only through promoting revolution in each country, and on that basis, any kind of support and assistance for the revolution of other peoples must be provided. Therefore it is necessary to achieve closer connections and exchanges of opinions between all European communists and revolutionaries.

Either pig or human being
either survival at any cost
or fighting to the death
either problem or solution
there is no in-between.

Holger Meins (murdered on 9 November 1974)

FOR ULTIMATE COMMUNISM!

LONG LIVE PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM!

WE SHALL BE VICTORIOUS!

In the prison of Soria, 12 January 1985

Communiqué on the assassination of Dr José Ramon Munoz in Zaragoza on 27 March 1990

28 March 1990

On 27 March 1990, at Zaragoza, the Juan José Crespo Galende Combat Group of our organization executed one of the medical leaders who has been most involved in the application of force-feeding to political prisoners of the PCE-r and GRAPO, on hunger strike since 30 November 1989.

Since that date, the socio-fascist government swine have not shrunk from applying any means to undermine the prisoners' will to resist, including force-feeding to make them abandon the struggle for their just demands. Dr José Ramón Muñoz Fernández was one of the instruments used, not only in attempting to break the strike, but also in forcing other professionals to accept this criminal policy that, hypocritically, they have portrayed as 'respect for life'.

Those who speak of respect for life are the very ones who have turned this hunger strike into the longest torture session in history. Those who say this are the ones who have crafted this sinister plan, designed to push the strikers to the limit, into a situation in which, having had their health broken, only the threat of certain death can be used to blackmail them, forcing them to yield and submit to isolation and dispersal. But when not even an atrocity of this kind has proven successful for them, faced with the resolve of men and women possessing a moral integrity that cannot compare with that professed by these axmen, they turn to force-feeding, with the obvious intent of smashing their will, prolonging their death struggle indefinitely in a macabre spiral that makes the medical experiments of the Nazis pale by comparison.

All those who have performed the torture of force-feeding under the pretext of special ethical codes were aware that they were actively and directly collaborating with the terroristic policy of the government against political prisoners and the revolutionary movement. We are not lumping these collaborationist elements together with the entire medical and professional community, some members of which have been targets of reprisals for having honestly opposed, in the true spirit of humanity, aberrant practices that violate their own Deontological Code, adopted by the International Medical Association, which, at its 29th World Medical Assembly, stated: 'When a prisoner rejects all nourishment and the doctor deems that he is capable of formulating a conscious and rational judgment as to the consequences involved in his refusal to feed himself, he shall not be fed artificially.'

In order to justify their repressive policy and not accede to the demands of our imprisoned comrades, government spokesmen have attempted to portray the hunger strike as a 'political tug-of-war' between the political and military organizations of the resistance. This is an extremely erroneous approach. Insofar as

our organization is concerned, it is obvious and generally known that it has never 'played politics' with the suffering of prisoners or other victims of state repression. In all cases, insofar as circumstances have permitted, we have limited ourselves to denouncing and countering the assaults that the government has directed against us and other people's organizations. This is particularly obvious with respect to the conditions to which all political prisoners are subjected. As is well known, at no time have we promoted in the prisons anything beyond preserving minimally acceptable living conditions. The prisoners of the PCE-r and GRAPO have never created situations that could be used by government officials and jailers to justify dispersal or any other type of reprisal against them.

Furthermore, we wish to state for the record that no one is better able than us to appreciate the value of the lives of these men and women prisoners, and that we empathize as much as anyone else with the plight to which they have been subjected by the torturers, who are following the orders of the government. Nevertheless, the pain does not dim our judgment or cloud our understanding. Consequently, we state that there is no alternative to this situation but to continue the strike to the end, until reunification is achieved. Otherwise, we would have to resign ourselves to seeing them die slowly, isolated in a filthy hole, murdered in silence. We do not believe that the latter alternative is acceptable to any honorable and sensible person.

Since the background of the strike, still under way, is familiar to all, we will not examine the details. This is not the first time that political prisoners have mounted such a strike. Indeed, one might say that the present strike is merely the continuation of the one that began at Almería Prison last summer. On that occasion, too, everything possible was done to avoid aggravating the conflict. Nevertheless, this stance cannot be maintained for very long, owing to the overbearing and domineering attitude of the government. What was to be done, then? Were we simply to submit to the telltale atrocities of the new acts of savagery that are being committed?

It was obvious all along that the 'felipista' [a derisive term for the government of Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez Marquez] clique was forcing the situation in order to divide the prisoners and, at the same time, to prevent the development of the organized resistance movement. They sought, by every means, to abort a genuine democratic - revolutionary alternative to their criminal and deceitful policy. It is obvious that they will not achieve it through any means. But what is certain is that they have managed to make the prisoners themselves bear most of the burden of this strike, so much so that, given the prevailing conditions, the people's organized movement has been unable to re-occupy their position in this fierce fight. The essence of the criminal, socio-fascist policy of 'felipismo' is the use of political prisoners as actual hostages in the hands of the state, in order to weaken the people's movement and attempt to blackmail it.

Insofar as our organization is concerned, this policy is reflected, among other things, in attempts to provoke us to the level of 'immediate responses', thereby distracting our forces, cornering them, and destroying them easily. But we shall not fall into this trap, and they are really quite stupid if they still harbor any hopes in that regard.

Consequently, during the strike, we are armed with patience, in the hope for a fair solution that might put an end to this painful conflict. But everyone has been able to note that good reasons are worthless to this government. They are so uncouth and so fascist that, as always, only guerrilla strikes make them stop to think.

In the face of every ethical principle and every popular interest, not only have they turned a deaf ear to the thousands of voices that have risen up to demand a fair settlement of the strike, but they have also continued to wallow in a pool of deceit and calumny. If it is a question of a humanitarian attitude, things are quite simple. They need only reunite the prisoners and respect their physical and moral integrity and their political identity. Is there any other solution that is more humane?

Furthermore, if, as they do not cease to repeat, they feel so much love for life and they truly wish to settle the problem 'of violence' as they call it, why do they not begin by releasing the prisoners who have suffered the most from the blows of institutional violence? Free those who have suffered serious and irreversible effects from torture and repeated hunger strikes. Release these men and women. This would demonstrate a true interest in settling the problem.

There is no other solution than this. They could continue on the same old course, one of torture and state terrorism. But, in that event, they should take into account that the struggle will be long and that although they may hide behind a wall of uniforms and machine-guns, we are going to go after them, we are going to confront them, and we are going to see to it that justice is served.

REUNIFICATION OR DEATH!

DOWN WITH STATE TERRORISM!

ARMED RESISTANCE!

WE SHALL BE VICTORIOUS!

GRAPO Central Command

Communiqué on the Bombing of Oil Pipelines in Spain on 22 February 1991

Our operational groups have used powerful explosive charges to attack two strategic points along the Rota-Zaragoza oil pipeline, one along the Rota-Morón section and the other along the Morón-Torrejón de Ardoz section. Throughout the day on 21 February, these explosions paralysed the supply of fuel to the military bases of Morón, Torrejón de Ardoz and Zaragoza, where Yankee airplanes bombing Iraq refuel.

For more than a month, US imperialists, using the most sophisticated weapons of mass destruction, have been exterminating the Iraqi people, destroying the country's industry and its army. They have tried to justify this cowardly aggression with a long series of pretexts, but it is increasingly clear what their true intentions are: they want to raze Iraq to the ground. This would be the first stage in the escalation of aggression they are undertaking to provoke another world war that would allow them to impose their hegemony over the rest of the world.

But the military might of the United States and the initial advantage obtained with this war will not be sufficient for the other states to submit to its designs. The existence of the heterogeneous allied bloc offers, in this regard, a misleading appearance. Actually, the contradictions and conflicts among its members are becoming more and more acute: on the one hand, because the Yankee plans are in open contradiction with the interests and security of a good number of capitalist countries and, on the other, because in the medium and long term, they assault the very existence of the Soviet Union, China and the other Socialist countries, the true objective of the imperialist ambition. This situation is already causing the disintegration of the bloc. New alliances and new combat fronts will open in a relatively short period of time, because the aggression of the Pentagon assassins is placing the world on the threshold of a war with consequences more devastating than ever before in the history of mankind.

In Spain, the fascist and militaristic regime of Felipe Gonzalez, in line with its despicable and servile spirit, has submitted to Yankee demands and has placed the country at their service to be used as a platform for the imperialist aggression throughout the entire Middle East, the Mediterranean and North Africa. Our actions are aimed against this type of lackey policy and against its imperialist mentors, and our groups will continue to fight against it.

Our organization calls upon workers, *campesinos*, intellectuals and students, and democratic and anti-fascist organizations to prepare themselves in all spheres to confront the imperialist war with the revolutionary war. It calls upon soldiers and sailors to turn their weapons against their commands, to desert and go over to the ranks of the anti-fascist and anti-imperialist guerrilla forces. It calls upon everyone to organize the resistance to the capitalist State in all possible ways, to practice civil disobedience, to sabotage the acts, plans and facilities of the fascist army. It urges the promotion of the guerrilla and revolutionary war. Only in this way will it be possible to stop the war and prevent the impending massacre.

FIRST OF OCTOBER ANTI-FASCIST RESISTANCE GROUPS

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ARMED SOLIDARITY WITH THE ARAB AND MUSLIM PEOPLES!

REVOLUTIONARY WAR AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR!

DOWN WITH CAPITALISM!

WE SHALL BE VICTORIOUS!

Central Command of the *Grupos de Resistencia Antifascista Primero de Octubre*
(GRAPO) [First of October Anti-Fascist Resistance Groups]

GRAPO and ETA: Two Strategies and Two Different Policies*

In recent times, there has been a consensus among a number of friends and supporters of the Party in pointing to 'the radical difference' between the armed actions conducted by GRAPO and ETA in recent months. In reality, this difference has always existed and can be inferred not so much from their actions and operations, but from the different political and strategic concepts that guide the activities of both organizations. This also determines their character. ETA, as is well-known, is a military organization that claims to be the 'vanguard' of the Basque people in their struggle for independence, while GRAPO considers itself only the 'armed wing' of working and popular resistance, dedicated solely to ridding itself of the yoke imposed on it by the fascist and monopolistic State of the Spanish oligarchy. As to the rest, it is certain that GRAPO is accustomed to 'focus' more on the pursuit of its military objectives. GRAPO also tries to choose the most favourable political climate to carry out its actions. ETA, however, seems to be guided by the motto that 'anything goes'.

However, we will refrain from resorting to a facile attack on the 'indiscriminate' nature of ETA's actions or on the hypocritical expressions of regret regarding the innocent victims that they have created.

With regard to this matter, the position of our Party is clear and unwavering: first and foremost, we think that the real responsibility for those or the other many deaths lies with the government, the repressive forces, and the political parties that support them. At no time can that loss of human life and other unfortunate incidents be separated from the policy of oppression and pillage by the Spanish imperialist and fascist State with respect to the people and nations subjected to its rule. Those deaths cannot be separated from the dirty war, the torture, the lies, and irrational inflexibility demonstrated time and time again by the successive Governments of Franco and the monarchy in their attempt to deny the legitimate rights and demands of those peoples and nations.

The fact that we hold this view does not prevent us from recognizing and criticizing (as we have done on different occasions) the insularity of its nationalistic policy and all actions by ETA that we consider erroneous. In any case, this is what we must continue to stress, since it has been that policy, spelled out in what has been called the 'strategy of negotiation', that has led to the dead end that it now faces. Ill-conceived and unplanned 'indiscriminate' armed actions result from that situation, which has led it to political blindness, together with the diversionary and terrorist strategy practiced by the government. Today, the failure of that approach can be fully appreciated, which has only proven self-destructive (in addition to making headlines in the newspapers almost every day). And of course, it is not by this method that the organization will end this impasse.

* From *Resistance*, Vol. VI, No. 16 (October 1991).

Rather, the opposite will occur: by persisting in that type of activity, ETA will lose its credibility even among its own supporters and will continue to do great harm to the just cause that it is championing. It is no coincidence that the repressive forces have decided, at this very moment, to engage systematically in the physical elimination of Basque militants. It is because ETA itself has provided them with a golden opportunity to do so. This tragic mistake will have to be corrected as soon as possible if the organization really does not wish to continue playing the game that suits the government best.

It is abundantly clear that this is a path of no-escape and that recognition of this would be good. However, apparently the nationalists find it quite difficult to recognize this. Would they prefer to knock their heads, time and time again, against the wall of 'negotiations'? We hope not. In any case, we cannot overlook those who, taking advantage of this opportunity, repeatedly recommend surrender and rush forward to occupy seats in Parliament. Has so much blood been shed and sacrifices made to come to this? This is the eternal contradiction with which the most radical Basque nationalist movement is struggling, on account of the absence of a political and strategic approach that seriously considers the defeat of the State and other forces interested in that same objective.

Another element that is very different, even contradictory, is the type of activity being conducted by GRAPO. We pointed it out at the beginning of this commentary: everyone has been able to attest to the care exercised by this organization with respect to its targets, while it seeks to have its open armed actions coincide with the most favorable political climate. We had a clear example of this during the imperialist aggression against Iraq. As will be recalled, at the critical moment of this aggression, GRAPO used powerful explosives to blow up the pipelines supplying fuel to the planes flying from Spanish territory to bomb the cities and people of that country. Another example was the execution of the doctor and torturer, José Muñoz Fernández, who force-fed prisoners during the hunger strike that lasted more than a year, or the blowing-up of the Chalet of Galavis, the former Director General of Penitentiary Institutions, who was responsible for the death of the militant from our Party, Juan José Crespo Galende, during another prolonged hunger strike. We could cite hundreds of other examples.

All this has helped the mass movement considerably and has undoubtedly contributed to the heightening of its political awareness. On other occasions, we have explained that this strategy is part of a general strategy aimed at condemning injustice, weakening the regime of the oligarchy, building revolutionary forces, and winning the support of the workers with a view to giving greater impetus to the struggle. This is what is defined as the 'line of resistance', which makes our Party appeal to workers and other sectors of the population. GRAPO follows that line. Therefore, at no time in its already long history of revolutionary armed struggle has it engaged in actions that could be considered harmful to the masses and their political movement. It has not carried out any action of that kind nor will it do so in the future, as long as a just political and military line is followed, in accordance with the interests of the people and the revolution.



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Direct Action

Original Language (French): Action Directe

Direct Action (DA) was a small, Marxist-Leninist, urban terrorist group that operated in France from 1979 to 1987. Many of DA's founding members came from other French leftist terrorist groups and were thus experienced in armed struggle. The name of the group symbolizes the group's philosophy to 'wreck society through direct action by destroying the institutions and men who serve it, and by relying on the peoples forces'. The goal of the DA was to oppose 'imperialism and capitalism' – in all its forms – in France and elsewhere, as part of the international revolutionary movement. Like the Red Brigades, DA was confronted with an ideological schism in 1982. Some of its members wanted to 'internationalize' the armed struggle in France, while others sought to stress a 'national' struggle by aligning their actions with concerns of the French masses. The so-called 'international' faction subsequently escalated its terrorist operations to include assassinations and also aligned itself with the RAF in the 1985 establishment of a 'an anti-imperialist front of West European revolutionaries'. The 'national' faction restricted itself to non-lethal bombings primarily against French targets.

TACTICS

Between 1979 and 1985, DA carried out primarily non-lethal bombings and strafings of government buildings. The international faction was the first to move up to lethal attacks in January 1985 when it assassinated General René Audran, a French Ministry of Defense official. Police arrests among both DA factions between 1982 and 1985 reduced the international faction's hardcore membership to five persons and the national wing to just one. Both factions were completely neutralized in 1987 by police arrests. Neither faction has been active since. However, members of the international faction have been active in the prisons, participating in limited hunger strikes and corresponding with other imprisoned fighting communists in other European countries.

TERRORIST LITERATURE

DA issued written attack communiqués, three or four major ideological tracts, and several interviews. Many of the group's communiqués and ideological tracts were published in French radical newspapers and journals such as *L'Internationale*, *Libération*, and *Rebelles*. Compared with the attack communiqués of the other fighting communist organizations in Europe, DA communiqués were rather brief.

SELECTED CHRONOLOGY OF DIRECT ACTION TERRORIST INCIDENTS

1979

- 1 May – Paris: Strafed the National Council of French Employers building with machine-gun fire.

1980

- 18 March – Paris: Strafed the Ministry of Co-operation building with machine-gun fire.

15 April

- Paris: Fired anti-tank rockets at the Ministry of Transport.

11 June

- Paris: Detonated a bomb at Orly Airport, injuring eight people.

20 October

- Paris: Attempted bombing of the Stock Exchange.

1982

28 May

- Paris: Strafed a Bank of America office.

4 June

- Paris: Bombed the American School.

5 June

- Paris: Bombed the office of the Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

1984

12 July

- Paris: Bombed the Atlantic Institute for International Affairs.

13 July

- Paris: Bombed the Data & Processing Office of the Research and Program Department of the Ministry of Defense.

2 August

- Paris: Bombed the European Space Agency.

22 August

- Paris: Bombed the office of the West European Union.

- 21 October - St. Cloud: Bombed the office of Dassault, a French firm involved in the defense industry.
- 1985
- 25 January - Paris: Assassinated General René Audran, Director of International Affairs at the Ministry of Defense.
- 27 April - Paris: Bombed the office of the International Monetary Fund.
- 26 June - Neuilly: Attempted to assassinate General Henri Blandin, Comptroller General of the French Armed Forces.
- 8 August - Frankfurt, Germany: In a rare joint operation for European fighting communist organizations, DA's international faction and the RAF detonated a car bomb at the US Air Force base at Ramstein. Two Americans were killed and 20 other people injured.
- 1986
- 15 April - Le Vesinet: Attempted assassination of Guy Brana, Vice-President of the French Employers Union.
- 26 April - Lyon, France: Bombed the American Express office.
- 16 May - St. Cloud: Bombed the offices of the International Criminal Police Organization (Interpol).
- 9 July - Paris: Bombed the offices of the special anti-crime squad of the French judicial police.
- 21 July - Paris: Bombed the Paris headquarters of the Organization of Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD).
- 17 November - Paris: Assassinated George Besse, the chairman of Renault.
- 15 December - Provins: Attempted assassination of former Justice Minister Alain Peyrefitte. His chauffeur was killed.
- 1987
- 5 January - Paris: Attempted assassination of the French magistrate who was presiding over the trial of a DA member.

Communiqué on the Bombing of a Data & Processing Office of the French Ministry of Defense in Paris on 13 July 1984

On 13 July 1984, we attacked the Data & Processing Office of the Research and Program Department of the Ministry of Defense, located in the SIAR (Surveillance Industrielle de l'Armement) building at 10 rue Sextius Michel, Paris 15^e. The SIAR is responsible for the technical supervision and payment of orders concerning armament equipment placed with private companies. It also represents the General Delegation for Armaments with regional authorities and private industry.

On 14 July 1984, we attacked the annex of the Ministry of Industry on rue Crillon, Paris 4^e, which is responsible for the allied pipeline - to be precise, fuel supplies to NATO European bases.

Wars, war economy, permanent armament economy - this is the central, basic purpose of the imperialist economy. Whether it concerns two World Wars, the cold war of the 1950s, the 250-odd armed conflicts in the world between 1945 and 1984, or the increase in armament expenditure at the end of the 1970s and beginning of the 1980s, militarism may be pointed to as the lifebelt to which capitalism desperately clings each time the forces inherent in its system are on the verge of letting it sink into the abyss of crisis. Faced with the inherent needs of this system, it is ridiculous to settle for peaceful pacifism. Installing the missiles should not be seen as the result of Reaganism gone mad. One should analyse the logic of this system and its consequences, i.e. militarism, psychological warfare, and industrial restructuring.

Everyone must fight in the area where he is the strongest but always in relation to the fights of other proletarians engaged in other sectors of the armed struggle. The only reply to the tendency towards imperialistic war is general class war. Therefore, hit at every level of preparation, harass their administrative centers, and sabotage their projects. The capitalist economy is deep in crisis. It has a vital need to increase its military expenditures, to force its way into a war economy and possibly into war, hindered only by the present relations between the classes and the world political situation. The responsibility for this hindrance, at the international level, belongs to the working class and to the sweating masses. The crisis of the system's economic base is intensified by a crisis of political dominance.

Today, the question is to develop the economic struggles into a political crisis.

START BUILDING THE COMMUNIST ORGANIZATION IN FACTORIES AND DISTRICTS!
 CLASS WAR AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR!
 DESTROY IMPERIALISM PROJECTS AND ITS LINK TO NATO!

DIRECT ACTION
 Fighting Communist Unit Lahouari Farid Benchellal

Communiqué on the attempted bombing of the Western European Union office in Paris on 23 August 1984

At 8:40 a.m. on 23 August 1984 a group from our organization parked a Renault 20 containing 24 kg of TNT against the grill of the main entrance to WEU, 43 Avenue President Wilson. The timer was set to go off 45 minutes later. After confirming that the operation was under way, the militants made every effort to give warning of the attack. The following were warned:

- The fire station
- The hospital
- The XVI^e *arrondissement* central police station, rue de la Pompe
- The police station, rue Chardon Lagache
- A member of the editorial staff of the daily *Liberation*.

Since the warnings were so specific, the police, laboratory [investigators] and bomb squad were soon at the site. After the calls, the first car was at the scene 25 minutes before the explosive was to go off. The area was immediately cordoned off. It should be noted that this cordon could be and was reinforced by the mobile guard squadrons permanently stationed in the sector itself (one van on Avenue d'Iéna, 50 meters from the target; one van on Place de l'Amiral de Grasse, 300 meters from the target).

The contention that the car was not found is totally untrue and the starting point of the disinformation campaign. The car was the only one parked on the sidewalk at the very entrance to the target. Since the license plates were false, this information could be (and was) confirmed by the computer in a few seconds. Moreover, the presence of police experts and sniffer dogs make this contention seem childish.

In view of the non-completion of the operation and the police black-out, we insisted on explaining the operation (twice) to an AFP journalist. We pointed out that all the authentication codes were used. According to that person's replies, the prefecture itself was perfectly well aware of this being so and was already working on it. Towards 13:00 we contacted TNZI (police communications headquarters) to test its reactions. The conclusion seemed obvious to us.

So it is perfectly clear that once the car was discovered, in view of the importance of the target, the state, fully informed, started preparing the campaign of disinformation and counter-propaganda conducted from 13 September 1984, or two days before the members of the organization began their hunger strike.

For it to have done so, as we showed above, this campaign had to enjoy the participation of at least two journalists, who encouraged it by their silence. (We think that this problem will be resolved by a direct meeting).

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The purpose of this disinformation and counter-propaganda operation by the state was twofold:

1. The first purpose we know very well, for it was used previously at the time of the attack in the rue des Rosiers, which the state attributed to us although it knew perfectly well that we could not have perpetrated it, in order to blunt the impact of our campaign in the summer of 1982 against Israeli aggression in Lebanon and to make it possible to outlaw the organization. When we are not being described as gangsters, chicken thieves or the last of the Mohicans, we, and through us all the West European guerrilla groups, are being defined as an offshoot of groups and secret services that use massacres as a form of political pressure. When we speak of massacres, we are speaking of booby-trapped cars placed in Tehran market or in the business streets of Beirut.

2. The second purpose is to send us a clear warning after we ourselves determined the area of confrontation and the need to resume the political offensive.

We are faced with two alternatives: either to leave a longer warning and reaction time, which with modern bomb disposal techniques would result in the failure of an operation, or to shorten this time and increase the risk to innocent victims, which would result in the political failure of an operation.

We are the only ones who can give a political-military response to this warning.

Direct Action

Communiqué on the assassination of General René Audran, Director of International Affairs at the French Ministry of Defense in Paris on 25 January 1985

The concretization of the revolutionary front in the West European base today is an expression and a part of a leap [forward] in the world-wide proletarian struggle.

Every action, every attack, fundamentally develops the revolutionary process and determines the force of the breakthrough against the imperialist strategy of annihilation and its structures.

We have executed Audran because he played a central role in his function at the Ministry of Defense: he was responsible for the conception of the programs for arms co-operation, their industrial realization, and their commercialization within the framework of the IEPG* and the CIEEMG (Interdepartmental Commission for Research and Export of War Material).

Audran's military and economic function is central to the imperialist strategic design: the homogenization of the European states under NATO control.

The prime motor and representative of this political-economic-military orientation is the Paris-Bonn axis: 'The core of the European security policy turns out to be a matter of German-French dialogue. If anything new is to develop, it will only happen through agreements between these two states in the center of continental Western Europe ...' (Becker, ex FRG government spokesman).

The political, economic and military force functions through a precise distribution of roles between these two states, closely dovetailed with the strategy of US imperialism:

France with its geostrategic influence and its Force de Frappe, and the FRG with its financial and economic might and the quantitatively strongest NATO army in Europe.

Objectives already realized:

projects for conventional weapons systems and space; changes in the mission concept of the Force de Frappe, the building up of the FAR; the concentration of the high-technology industry; the lifting of limitations on FRG armaments

* IEPG - Independent European Programming Group, part of the structure of the NATO Council. France has been a member of the IEPG since 1975. The objectives of this European co-operation in the arms sector are: rational use of financial means; use of all possibilities for standardization and interoperability; maintenance of a European arms industry and defense technology; strengthening of the European position in relation to the US and Canada. The IEPG establishes guidelines in the areas of competition and realization of financially viable solutions, consideration for states which do not possess a qualified arms industry; balancing out industrial weaknesses.

DIRECT ACTION

decided by the WEU and moved by France; the new orientation of the French Army away from the concept of 'defense of its own territory' and towards 'forward defense' against the socialist states in the East.

Through its pseudo-independence from NATO, France has improved the standing of the European states in the international framework, especially since the advent of the social democrats:

it enlarges in real terms the room for economic and military maneuver and guarantees the propaganda of a 'European defense' with the objective of neutralizing the protests and doubts which have developed with regard to the US policies dominating its European military structure, NATO.

The strengthening of the European pillar based on the Paris-Bonn axis brings the different political, economic and military foundations into line as part of the global imperialist strategy and as a vanguard in the attack against the international proletariat.

Today, the continuity of the revolutionary process is developing out of the changed political conditions, which have been developed further by the retaking of the offensive all over the West European metropolis in the past six months.

The attacks on the multinational structures of NATO, against its bases and strategists, against its plans and propaganda, are transforming the consciousness and practice of the proletariat, in traversing national differences and making an international organizational leap [forward].

The revolutionary front arises from the capacity to transform its diversity and its contradictions into a strategy of attack and for the building up of the organization of the class for its liberation.

The development of this process, or its annihilation by the counter-revolution, changes the global situation and determines the central confrontation between the imperialist bourgeoisie and the international proletariat.

In this, this offensive is absolutely necessary.

BUILD UP THE POLITICAL-MILITARY FRONT IN WESTERN EUROPE AS A
PART OF THE WORLD-WIDE WAR BETWEEN THE INTERNATIONAL
PROLETARIAT AND THE IMPERIALIST BOURGEOISIE!

BUILD UP THE COMMUNIST ORGANIZATION BEGINNING IN THE
FACTORIES AND CITY DISTRICTS!

CLASS WAR AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR!

THE WESTERN EUROPEAN GUERRILLA IS SHAKING UP THE IMPERIALIST
CENTER!

Elisabeth van Dyck Commando
Direct Action

Interview of Direct Action Members with a German Radical Newsletter, *Zusammen Kaempfen*, in February 1986

ZK It has now been a year since you and the RAF jointly published the text which announced the generalization of the revolutionary offensive in Europe, as exemplified by the Audran/Zimmerman actions. In this text, you suggested that the 'central project in the present phase of the imperialist strategy is the attempt to weld the West European States together into one homogeneous structure - one hard bloc which is to be completely integrated into the core of imperialist power, NATO - as the most advanced complete imperialist structure of domination oppression.' What do you consider to be the level of development of this project today?

DA More than ever this development is closely linked to the political, economic and military orientations of the USA. Thus, by putting in place concrete means such as the installation of Euromissiles, of MX missiles in the USA, the creation of 'blitzkrieg' forces or even SDI, it is a global strategy for the entire capitalist world which has developed as a means of resolving the crisis. SDI has allowed the acceleration and crystallization of old projects into one much more global project: Eureka.

This 'technological Europe' concretizes the Paris - Bonn axis as an engine for the homogenization of Western Europe and expands the concept of European security through the mobilization of Western European scientific and industrial potential, by incorporating non-member countries of the EEC or NATO (Switzerland, Austria or Sweden). The purely institutional stage of the strategy to homogenize Western Europe is surpassed by the phenomenon of concretization of productive and economic resources, indispensable, in the context of the *international economic crisis*, to the political and military strategy of imperialism. This process of homogenization, intensified by SDI, has entailed the creation in NATO of a FRG-GB-Italy hard core as a stabilizing complement to the extension of the notion of European security requiring the adoption and application within the basic European entity (NATO) of the political, economic and military strategy of the US.

From summit meetings to working session, from bilateral agreements to three-party agreements and more, the homogenization of Western Europe is expanding for the preparation of war and to get out of the 'crisis' through the organization of European industrial military complexes through projects of military and economic domination, such as Eureka and SDI.

ZK How do you analyse the role of France within the imperialist strategy and more particularly within NATO?

DA Since France's withdrawal from the integrated military command, thanks to a structuring of roles and in the face of the need to preserve the economic and military attainments in the zones destabilized by the liberation struggles against

colonialism, the country was perceived as independent from NATO, which itself was understood to be a uniquely military structure. Officially, therefore, France is not integrated into the alliance's military structure. Nevertheless, its weapons systems follow NATO guidelines and its defensive and offensive positions are planned in Brussels, at the headquarters of the Atlantic organization for an interoperational capacity with the member countries of the military command, in fact incorporating the French Army into the offensive apparatus of NATO's strategy.

ZK In Europe, the imperialist propaganda, particularly through the voice of the Social Democrats, presents Eureka as a European project that is civilian and independent, separate from the US strategy. What do you think about the objectives pursued by the bourgeoisie with Eureka in this area?

DA The entire chronology of the preparation and implementation of Eureka shows the degree of its importance in the development of the European security project. Ministry of Defense specialists were the ones to lay the foundations and it was in the UEO assembly [*Union de l'Europe Occidentale* - Western European Union (WEU)] that it was discussed for the first time. Today the polyvalence of projects, no matter what their designation, civilian, military or other, no longer needs to be demonstrated. No project directly linked to the general process can be exclusively military, economic or political. The reality of Eureka is therefore not to be found in the response to the 'Eureka, civilian or military?' polemic but rather in its consequences for the proletarian class of Western Europe.

Eureka is the concretization on the European level of the societal change introduced by the new US strategy and the reconsideration of that strategy and its development by the industrial and technological complex.

The SDI opens the American market to European industries, because, from the pressure constituted by the international development of the crisis, the necessity arose for the imperialist states to reorganize into a general system. The only solution for imperialism to fight the crisis and maintain its domination is the concentration and cartelization of the various productive sectors, after their multinationalization, already begun before this crisis, with the economic interest groups. The solution has become all the more imperative today since it involves restoring, simultaneously, the solvency of the financial system of the industrialized countries and the Third World countries in order to give a new impetus to investment and the race for profits which, for greater exploitation, are necessary in order to reorganize work through the computerization and automation of the productive sectors.

Moreover, the military sector, creating 'a real Franco-German pillar within the alliance' (C. Hernu), has effectively become the spearhead of European defense.

This means:

- Resuming NATO's forward defense concept, a plan of attack on the Warsaw Pact socialist countries, based on the immediate use of tactical nuclear weapons;
- Assuming the logistic and counter-revolution prevention function of the US Army in Europe, in case it is engaged in the Third World.

As part of this strategy:

- over 50,000 French soldiers are stationed in the FRG.
- in 1986, 150,000 French and German soldiers will participate in joint maneuvers in the FRG.
- in 1987, for the first time, the rapid action force (RAF) units will take part in maneuvers in the FRG for the field implementation of the forward defense concept. At the same time, France is negotiating with the Bundeswehr for the latter to provide supplies and logistics for the RAF during its engagement.
- numerous agreements exist between MBB and Aerospatiale regarding defense: for a supersonic anti-ship missile, multiple launch rocket system, or HAP and HAC helicopters.
- negotiations are in progress both to expand the French nuclear 'umbrella' to the FRG and include it in the decisions regarding the nuclear force engagement, and to put the West German financial resources at the service of joint defense.

Likewise, France and Great Britain have positioned blitzkrieg armed forces against the Third World in order to support the USA, for example in the Persian Gulf, where French, British and American war fleets are stationed. The French war industry is involved in all the NATO programs through the GIEP, specially created in order to have France participate in deliberations that concerned only the member countries of the integrated military command.

In addition, the creation of a group of industrialists entrusted with studying the European defensive capability, together with the GIEP, and the recent agreements of large nationalized firms with the SDI program and their participation in Eureka underline the offensive position of France in the development of the imperialist strategy.

The uninterrupted crises and upheavals of the last ten years have allowed manpower to be reduced while at the same time providing greater flexibility in the choice of industries to establish in order for the groups to undertake a new international division of production. While continuing to establish themselves in Third World countries with low wages and to transfer their low added-value production to them, the companies of the metropolis keep the highly profitable advanced technology sectors and introduce new technologies ensuring them world supremacy.

ZK What is the true function of the SDI and Eureka in the development of the world strategy of imperialism?

DA Currently the USA has taken the step of extending the development process which had previously existed at the political and military level to the economic level.

The challenge of the SDI through its technological scope and the renewal of competition that it engenders in the US cartels and European industries - which until now found their most important markets only in Europe and in the Third World - is to guide the latter into a process of economic-industrial concentration following the example of the US cartels to exist within the new international division of labor necessary to the universality of the US strategy to maintain its

supremacy. In this political, economic and military strategy, Eureka emerges as a support because of its complementarity with SDI and as a means of technological and industrial concentration in the development of Western European cartels.

After the industrial reorganizations of recent years, this means a new structure both of methods of production and social conditions, a real change in society.

ZK Specifically, how was the capitalist reorganization brought about?

DA A large part of the technological and industrial concentration was achieved as early as 1982 with the nationalization of almost all the industries involved in the area of high technology (weapons, electronics, computers, robotics, aeronautics, nuclear technology, the chemical industry and agri-foodstuffs sector). These industrial groups linked to the other old and new 'nationalized' groups (heavy industry, banks ...) constitute the public industrial sector (PIS).

ZK What is the specific function of the PIS?

DA It is necessary to know that 11 of the 14 'French' industrial groups included among the 200 largest multinationals in the world belong to the PIS and that the 184 firms of the PIS represent 60 per cent of research expenditure and 55 per cent of research personnel.

This PIS, constituted as an offensive element of the anti-crisis strategy by its adaptation to the internationalization of markets, its contribution to the recovery of investments, its driving role in research, and the application of new technologies, is the spearhead of French industrial and social policy in the development of the general imperialist strategy.

The impending return of a right-wing government and the implementation of its denationalization program will not constitute a general upheaval of the central role of the PIS and its definite relationship with technological concentration, since the general tendency in Western Europe is towards ever greater concentration and intervention by the state.

The PIS is the industrial and financial carrier of projects in which France participates, like Eureka and SDI, and within this technological and industrial concentration it is responsible for implementing the social project involved in the new structuring and organization of production: 'the founding of a new citizenship in business'.

Thus, for the employers the PIS represents the preferred place to create the new social and economic policy necessary for its durability. And it is under pressure from the employers' - 'business party' that the attacks on the fundamental historical and social accomplishments are being conducted. Only through the deregulation of social statutes, the flexibility of production as a whole, the individualization of wage policies, and the exclusion of certain trade union organizations and the participation of others, will it be possible for the 'business party' - PIS to conduct the anti-crisis strategy on which the universality of the imperialist strategy depends.

ZK How do you intend to carry out your actions within the 'unit of revolutionaries in Western Europe'?

DA We must, by our next actions, through the attack on the central articulations which today link their political, economic and military powers into a single strategy and within which the greatest antagonisms of the international proletariat

– imperialist bourgeoisie contradiction are included and perceived, concretize the qualitative leap of all the antagonisms and develop them towards a global revolutionary strategy.

'The development of a unified course including the different experiences of the revolutionary organizations of Western Europe for the construction of a single revolutionary pole constitutes a first step in the recreation of the European proletariat', and 'the strategy of the construction in Europe of the international proletarian organization is the area on which it is possible to build solidly a political clarification corresponding to the phase and allowing for an overall maturation of all revolutionary experience.' (*A revolutionary task, the international battle.*)

All the actions we have conducted, specifically within the 'unit of revolutionaries in Western Europe' report, were done under particular objective conditions owing to the historical development of the revolutionary movement in France. It is in this sense that these actions were to bring about simultaneously the construction of the revolutionary strategy in Western Europe and the resolution of its objective conditions within the revolutionary movement.

Through our actions against the Audran link (between NATO and France): Blandin (inspector-general of the Armed Forces and the person in charge of applying the law of defense orientation within the Armed Forces): the Air Base in Frankfurt-am-Main (an American base directly involved in aggression and war waged by US imperialism against the people and international proletariat); as well as all the other actions we have conducted since the beginning of our offensive, such as booby-trapped cars against the IMF Europe and the WEU, or our attacks against ESA [European Space Agency], the *Institut Atlantique*, etc ... we wanted to show clearly the process of homogenization of Western Europe caused by the US strategy – global strategy for imperialist hegemony – as well as the role and function of France in the application of that strategy.

We also wanted, from an understanding of this new situation, to adopt a real political-military strategy of anti-imperialist and proletarian armed struggle which would be a component of the qualitative leap towards the formation of a Western European guerrilla, a new phase in the development of an authentic revolutionary strategy.

Today, the task we must accomplish through our action is the introduction and development of this strategy in the revolutionary movement and all the proletarian antagonistic forces of Western Europe. The construction of an international organization of the proletariat is not the strategy of an organization but that of the entire revolutionary movement.

Communiqué on the Attempted Assassination of Guy Brana, Vice-President of the French Employers' Union, in Le Vesinet on 15 April 1986

Strike at the principal links between their political, economic and military strategy and within which the greatest antagonisms of the international proletariat-imperialist bourgeoisie contradiction are included and perceived.

Concretize the qualitative leap of all the mass antagonisms and develop them towards a global revolutionary strategy.

[Guy] Brana, Vice President of the CNPF [*Conseil National du Patronat Français* – National Council of French Employers] and President of the economic commission, is, as a result of his various positions, one of the principal linchpins of French economic and industrial policy in the development of the global revolutionary strategy.

A 'PIS [public industrial sector] man' in the employers' triumvirate, manager at the Thomson military industrial multinational corporation, and member of the industrial relations committee of the National Scientific Research Center, Brana represents and runs the PIS – 'business party' bloc, moving force of the general 'anti-crisis' strategy which means cartelization, technological and industrial concentration, Reagan market economy, flexibility, social deregulation, wage policy individualization, and anti-worker repression inside and outside the factory ...

Only by simultaneously developing the strength of the class and its victories will we develop the conscience necessary to organize for other victories.

Christos Kassimis Commando
Direct Action



7 | Fighting Communist Cells

Original Language (French): Cellules Communistes Combattantes

The Fighting Communist Cells (CCC) was a small, Marxist-Leninist, urban terrorist group that operated in Belgium from 1984 to 1985. It had the shortest lifespan of all the European fighting communist organizations. In a sense, the CCC was a hybrid of groups like the RAF, DA and Red Brigades. Its founder, Pierre Carette, had interacted with members of all these groups and set up the CCC after observing the political-military development of these groups. An analysis of CCC operations and written communiqués indicates that the CCC had patterned itself more upon the Red Brigades than the RAF and DA, which the CCC claimed were more anarchist than Marxist. While countries like Italy, France, Germany and Spain had a history of Marxist revolutionary terrorist activity, Belgium had been spared this particular 'disease'. As a result, the surfacing of the CCC in October 1984 was a surprise not only to the Belgian authorities, but also to other Western security and intelligence services.

From October 1984 to December 1985, when the entire membership (four persons) of the CCC was arrested, the group carried out 26 bombings against NATO, American, Belgian, and German targets. None of these attacks was designed to cause casualties, although two Belgian firemen were 'accidentally' killed in one CCC operation.

TACTICS

All of the CCC's attacks were bombings, and took place within the context of three separate 'thematic' campaigns. When Carette and the three other CCC members were arrested in December 1985, there were indications that the CCC was about to escalate its tactics from bombings to assassinations. The CCC had the smallest membership of all the European fighting communist organizations. However, its emergence in October 1984

contributed significantly to the 'Euroterrorism' scare that preoccupied the European media and security services from late 1984 through 1985.

TERRORIST LITERATURE

The CCC published written attack communiqués, several special communiqués and one major ideological tract. Given that Pierre Carette was the founder and past publisher of a Belgian radical journal known as *Ligne Rouge* (Red Line), this publication served as an unofficial propaganda organ for the CCC. The group usually telephoned Belgian newspapers after an attack and directed them to a place where the CCC communiqué could be found. CCC attack communiqués were longer than those of most of the other European fighting communist organizations. They were also more readable to the layman and provided information on CCC operations, such as how the group conducted surveillance.

SELECTED CHRONOLOGY OF CCC TERRORIST INCIDENTS

1984

- 2 October – Brussels: Detonated a bomb at Litton Business International.
- 8 October – Brussels: Bombed the office of Honeywell Inc.
- 26 October – Liège: Bombed two radio communication towers on the Bierset Air Base.
- 11 December – Belgium: Bombed six pumping stations of the NATO pipeline which stretches across Belgium.

1985

- 15 January – Brussels: Bombed the US Army NATO support activity facility.
- 1 May – Brussels: Detonated a van filled with explosives in front of the Belgian Employers Federation. Two firemen were killed when they approached the booby-trapped van. According to the CCC, the operation was not intended to cause casualties. The group claimed the firemen died because of poor communication between the police and firemen.
- 5 November – Charleroi: Bombed the offices of the Manufacturers Hanover Trust Bank.

- 21 November – Brussels: Bombed the offices of the Motorola Company.
- 4 December – Antwerp, Belgium: Bombed the office of the Bank of America.
- 6 December – Belgium: Bombed a NATO fuel pipeline in central Belgium.
- 6 December – Versailles, France: Bombed the offices of the allied agency which operates the control center of the NATO pipeline in central Europe. According to the CCC, this attack was carried out with the help of a 'group of international communists in France'.

Communiqué on the Bombing of Honeywell's Office in Brussels on 8 October 1984

Following our attacks against Litton and M.A.N. companies, we, the Fighting Communist Cells, attacked this morning, 8 October 1984, the European headquarters of the US multinational Honeywell at 14 Avenue Henri Matisse, Evree, a few hundred meters from NATO headquarters. Thus, at every level we are reaching the heart of the beast! The attack on the headquarters of Honeywell Europe, situated alongside the Honeywell S.A. building, whose activities are limited to Belgium, was achieved by means of a strong explosive charge that our unit placed there in spite of police arrangements and the security measures adopted by Honeywell (cameras, guards, etc.).

This action was undertaken in the precise spirit of the October anti-imperialist campaign that we started on the second of this month, because in fact the Honeywell group, a multinational well known in electronics and information systems, is playing an active role in the Cruise missile construction program and supplies, among other things, the electronics of the control systems.

Honeywell, is also the principal supplier in the production of MX 'Peacekeeper' intercontinental missiles, the producer of navigation systems for the giant B-52 bombers (today equipped with the air-ground version, type AGM86, of the Cruise missile) and the manufacturer of a range of armaments from torpedoes to radars, from military computers to fragmentation bombs, which puts Honeywell among the 20 principal military collaborators in the USA.

And since we are not short on memory, we recall that it was Honeywell that made the computer that co-ordinated the massive bombardments of 1972 over North Vietnam, which the Red Army Faction – July 15 Commando – destroyed during its attack against the American Army headquarters in Europe at Heidelberg.

The new blow aimed this morning against Honeywell allows us now to express a point of view that we have not so far underlined and which is essential. Here are some facts:

14 October 1982 – The Direct Action revolutionary group bombed (with a truck loaded with 200 kg of explosives) the industrial company Litton Systems Canada Ltd., at the very place where Cruise guidance systems are manufactured, thus causing very major damage.

23 June 1983 – At Düsseldorf, Litton Business Systems was attacked by revolutionaries with an incendiary bomb.

19 September 1983 – Revolutionary units destroyed the data processing center of the M.A.N. factory at Mainz (West Germany) where the chassis for the vehicles which transport and launch the Pershing missiles are made.

20 November 1983 – revolutionary units attacked Honeywell Bull in Düsseldorf.

14 December 1983 – a detachment of the United Freedom Front attacked, also with explosives, Honeywell offices and facilities in New York.

We have mentioned here only known actions directed against the three companies that we, in our turn, have attacked; but while the bourgeois press remains silent, revolutionary militants, in every country, daily sabotage the preparations and production for war. The convergence of targets between, in this case, the militants of the USA, Canada, West Germany and Belgium is certainly not by chance. The globalization of the exploitative relations in the imperialist phase has the immediate effect of a growing homogenization of social antagonism at the heart of the imperialist centers which are North America and Western Europe. Confronted today by the menace of war, millions of workers in North America and the entire peoples of Western Europe are saying NO to the bellicose aims of 'their' governments.

If, as the few examples above show, from the guerrilla against imperialism-militarism to the mass opposition, a breath of revolutionary hope crosses – with highs and lows – the entire core of imperialism, that is certainly not to say that objective political unity exists as a result of all these ideas. We, revolutionary communists, think that Lenin's directives are particularly pertinent in this respect and we will put them into practice:

They, the 'communists', will actively participate in every movement and every demonstration on this earth, but they will not fail the people in letting them believe that in the absence of a revolutionary movement it is possible to achieve a peace by annexation, by oppression of people, by theft, without there remaining the seed of new wars between present governments and the present governing classes. To fail the people thus would only add more grist to the mill of the secret diplomacy and counter-revolutionary plans of the warlike governments. Whoever wants an enduring and democratic peace must be a partisan in the civil war against governments and the bourgeoisie.

And it is in this spirit too that we adopt the Red Brigades' position as ours:

The backdrop that faces the international proletariat is very clear: capitalism is ready to make them pay the highest price that its social system is obliged to present cyclically to the masses that it exploits and oppresses: war.

But a slogan unites the exploited: CHANGE THE IMPERIALIST WAR INTO PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION FOR COMMUNISM!!!

In the accelerating maturation process of the capitalist crisis towards war, an exceptional opportunity is given to the international proletariat: to take a giant step forward in the global process of the worldwide proletarian revolution in overcoming the political powers in one or several capitalist countries. In particular, the possibility of beating the bourgeoisie in the advanced capitalist countries is readily available today and thus of delivering

a decisive blow to imperialism. But for that, in order not to be thrown by events, the objective unity of the proletariat everywhere in the world must be developed by a conscious unity of its communist avant-garde. Communists in every country must work resolutely towards the creation of a new COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL MOVEMENT based rigorously on Marxist-Leninist principles.

Our attachment to the principles of proletarian internationalism is based at the same time on the need for a worldwide proletariat to unite so as to confront an imperialist bourgeoisie long since organized at a transnational level, as well as on the obligation in the march towards communism to improve simultaneously the lot of all humanity: 'Either there will be communism for all or there will be communism for none.' This attachment to international proletarianism is and always will be present in our policy.

A last point that we want to mention concerns the choice of our present practice of political-military action. The type of action practised principally by the fighting communist cells is urban guerrilla warfare which we suggest as a strategic choice to the worker and anti-war movements of this country in order to take a positive step in the crisis – the blind alley of the revolutionary movement. We certainly do not pretend that political-military actions can exclude every other form of struggle developed by the proletariat over two centuries, but we insist that what matters now is an alternative strategy to bring about our victory against the plans of the bourgeoisie, a victory unmatched by the workers since the end of the Second World War. For decades, the socialist movement and its so-called revolutionary leaders have gone to the limit of the old democratic means of combat, and for those who are not blind it is now apparent that these are not – and above all, cannot be – sufficient! Mass demonstrations, violent or not; strikes, general or not; union activity, aggressive or deceptive; voting, left or right, have brought to the anti-capitalist movement and its anti-war extension only costly and demoralizing defeats.

The opening of a political-military front of anti-imperialist guerrillas is certainly not the miraculous solution which will sweep away the years of humiliation, defeat, and discouragement, but it can and must serve as a basis and a launching platform for the anti-capitalist offensive in this country.

This is the spark that must free us from the sticky traps of parliamentarianism and of consultation. There can be no discussion with the exploiters of humanity! At a time of transnational imperialism, parliamentary cretinism is even more despicable: Parliament is no more than dusty scenery; the real decisions about our future – and not the deplorable local chit-chats – are taken within the supranational and extra-parliamentary organizations (the headquarters of multinationals, the International Monetary Fund, the EEC, the OECD, NATO, the World Bank, etc.).

We are also saying that it would be mistaken and reformist not to see in our practice of the armed fight, and above all in the armed fight as strategy, a radical means of refusing the Cruise and Pershing missiles and furthermore, to fight against the plans of the Martens-Gol Mafia. The revolutionary movement has

tasks in which the armed struggle plays a historic role: the social revolution for communism, the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the building of a socialism marching towards a classless society free from state control.

It is on this march toward a new humanity, a humanity without misery or exploitation, obscurantism or despair, that we want to join now in battle with the bourgeoisie, because this confrontation, for every sincere revolutionary, is unavoidable. Power over our own lives, working class autonomy, will never fall freely into our hands: we must snatch it from the claws of the bourgeoisie which has all the means to rule: police, prisons, armies, etc. Faced with this, the workers must acquire the means to implement their policy, and the Guerrilla movement is one of these means.

As Engels emphasized: 'The emancipation of the proletariat will show itself also at the military level and they will know how to create new methods of combat which are specific to them', and Lenin: 'the crisis has shown that the bourgeoisie breaks the law in all countries, even the most free, and that it is impossible to lead the masses to revolution without creating a clandestine organization to advocate, discuss, appraise and prepare the means of the revolutionary fight.'

AGAINST THE IMPERIALIST WAR, THE CIVIL WAR!

WE MUST ORGANIZE AND STRIKE WITHOUT END!

FORWARD TOWARDS THE CREATION OF THE FIGHTING ORGANIZATION OF THE PROLETARIAT!

FORWARD TOWARDS THE COMMUNIST REVOLUTION!

ALL POWER TO THE WORKERS!

The Fighting Communist Cells
for the construction of the Fighting
Organization of the Proletariat

CCC Communiqué, dated late April 1985 and entitled 'Concrete Answers to Concrete Questions'

This document is the one we are tempted to call the least important. Our decision to write it and to publish it is based on the need we felt, following numerous 'public' discussions, to illustrate what our struggle is about, in response to a number of persistent questions.

The armed struggle for communism is, of necessity, a clandestine struggle, and it is this forced clandestinity that gives rise to all sorts of false ideas, questions and ill-will. The only way this problem can be fully understood is through our actions and our political writings. It has become clear to us, however, that a more vivid, direct illustration may also make our struggle easier to understand.

We start with the specific to illustrate the general. In its 12 December 1984 edition, the newspaper *Le Soir* carried the headline 'NATO PIPELINES SABOTAGED - MILITARY SECRETS IN THE HANDS OF THE CCC!' In our communiqué on these actions, we felt it was more important to explain Belgium's role in NATO and how NATO is the instrument of military and political imperialism than to describe how we located and destroyed the pipelines.

The media, of course, are not interested in such things, being a tool of ideological and imperialistic domination. This explains why the newspapers are adorned with headlines as stupid as this. There are actually three reasons for this.

The most fundamental reason lies in the materialistic sensationalism of the press, which affects not only us. Under capitalism, information is a consumer and market commodity, often confused with the marketing of intrigue. Enticing headlines are only one incentive among many inviting us to 'air our laundry along with princes and movie stars'.

The second aim is to harm us politically by distorting the nature of our struggle, confusing the issue, and casting doubts and suspicion on it. The mobilization aspect of our policy throughout the proletarian world has become lost in the confusion over the source of our explosives or infiltration of the Canadian police in 1970. In a period of six months, we have been seen everywhere, linked to every fighting group or organization in Europe, and allied with the Libyan secret service, the CIA and KGB, the Mafia and its heroin trafficking and, the very latest, turned into anarchists!

Thirdly, and most insidiously, is the attempt to disassociate us from society and its everyday reality. The press has to portray revolutionary politics as inaccessible to the working class, a matter for 'specialists' in a Star Wars scenario. Nothing could be further from the truth, which is why we are going to describe some of our activities in an attempt to demystify this campaign in the press against our armed struggle.

In doing so, a great many journalists will come across as either complete jerks or as stormtroopers, the former being the less contemptible.

The information we furnish will be lapped up by the cops and their devoted hacks, but they will be disappointed, for we are not pretentious, egotistical storytellers. What we did, perhaps not even an animal would do, but militants everywhere are talking about it!

How did we choose our targets for the first anti-imperialist campaign, and how did we gain access to them?

The choice of the targets we attacked was basically dictated by the political purpose of our campaign. The problem was one of making our attack one against that part of the economic sector linked directly with the war machine, against the political power of the bourgeois state, and against the domination and military organization of the imperialist apparatus.

This decision was unalterable and inalienable. There were also other considerations; to what level of revolutionary violence could we take the attack, given the degree of consciousness of the class movement and the actual size of our forces?

Since mobility is one of the tactical foundations of guerrilla warfare, we decided to attack 'sector by sector'. We decided, in other words, that we would 'never look back' during our campaign. We undertook three actions against the economic sector, two against the political sector, and then three against the military sector. When we blew up the headquarters of the PRL/PVV, the cops expected us to be at SABCA, and when we hit NATO in Bierset, they thought we would be at the PSC headquarters.

The attacks on Litton, M.A.N. and Honeywell arose out of the same imperatives as for the American, Canadian and German revolutionaries who launched their own. All serious studies on the military industry or the issue of missiles point the finger at these multinationals, whose addresses can be found in the phone book.

We then went to examine these buildings, selected their 'weak points', analysed the police aspect of the problem (location of stations, frequency of patrols, etc.), and organised the operation taking all these details into account.

A little story will illustrate the stupidity of the questioning and intrigues of certain so-called journalists. In June, we had sized up the Honeywell building and observed that it enjoyed no special protection. At night, a team of watchmen was on duty in the east wing, which was perfect because our target was the international headquarters located in the west wing. Thus there would be no risk of either confronting the guards or injuring them in the explosion.

A few days before the attack, comrades who had gone back to the building to make sure nothing had changed were terribly upset when they discovered that hidden cameras had been installed just where we had decided to hide our explosive.

Self-styled 'journalists' have said in this respect that we should have known that the cameras were not yet operating, and have written such idiocies as 'the CCC are financed by Honeywell, which wants to get a new building for itself out of the insurance money'.

When we saw the cameras, we went out and bought identical hoods, jackets, pants and shoes for all our comrades involved in the operation so that they could all

pass anonymously in front of the cameras. One other militant monitored the night watchmen, so that when the order was given to begin, it was certain that no one would be hurt.

The attack on the JR Foundation and on the Martens offices was dictated, as we stated in our communiqué, by their government participation. The telephone book (again) and a visit to a few Belgian cities allowed us to decide on Brussels and Ghent.

In Brussels, the garbage cans of the JR Foundation told us that there was a concierge, and we knew what floor her apartment was on by the light shining from the windows at night. This was why the bomb we placed was a weak one intended to destroy the offices alone. Without the concierge, we would have gained a certain degree of pleasure out of doubling the charges and blowing up the whole building.

In Ghent, we discovered that the main entrance was closed at night and at weekends by means of a shutter. To direct the force of our explosive towards the inside of the building, we had planned to cover it with five 50-kilo bags of sand out in the street, but we didn't need to after all – the shutter was not closed that night!

The NATO targets were selected in the course of very pleasant Sunday outings in the country. The Bierset telecommunications pylons, rising 25 meters in the sky, were not hard to detect. What would really be difficult would be to miss seeing them! As far as the pipelines are concerned, we will offer a fuller explanation, since our attacks gave rise to the brilliant 'conclusions' we referred to at the beginning of this document.

We must first go back a few years; the beginning is not only simple, but funny. Some comrades had read in *Le Soir* the misadventures befalling an audacious man from the Kontich region who, driven by thrift and by the knowledge that the NATO pipeline passed through the back of his garden, decided to tap it for his personal use. The man must have had more nerve than good sense, for his efforts were crowned by a garden flooded in crude oil and a few problems with the authorities.

Our first thought upon rereading the article had been to go and ask this handyman to point out to us the exact scene of his exploit so that we could stage a performance there ourselves.

Being methodical types and having considered the relative accessibility of the pipeline, we again consulted the top-secret telephone book – where, under 'Ministry of National Defense', every pumping station in the entire country is listed. We drew up our own list of all the towns these stations were located in, and decided to explore them during long walks in the countryside.

We set out with the idea of staging a direct attack on a particular pumping station, but closer examination revealed how difficult this would be. These facilities are extremely well protected (military guards, dogs, etc.) and require a large-scale attack. During our walks around these stations, searching for a crack in their armor, we were struck by how often we came across little orange hats set on top of stakes, similar to those out in the countryside that indicate where the gas pipes are.

These stakes have a telephone number printed on them to call in case of emergency, and the first three digits (016) tipped us off to the fact that Louvain

would be where we would find the NATO pipeline headquarters in Belgium. We verified this (using the telephone book, again), and the number corresponded to the 'La Gerbe de blé' district in Louvain.

We thereupon decided to locate as many of these markers as possible throughout the country. We would then make a selection and dig down under the stakes to the line, where we would place our explosives.

Off we went in the heat of July with our list of pumping stations, trying to find the route of the pipeline. Not being blind, we naturally came across the valve chambers. They were imposing metal structures painted orange and perched on two metal posts. Access was restricted by means of a padlock!

Having made up our minds, off we went again merrily in search of the valve chambers. A few weeks later, we stuck a red tack on a map of Belgium for every chamber located, so that we could determine, in relationship to the military bases, ports and other installations, the nerve center that would have to be destroyed. We must admit that we did not really succeed in this, which explains why one of our attacks was a duplicate. Today, the full plans of the NATO network in Europe have been published – get ready for the fireworks!

A few days before our attacks, on Thursday, 6 December, to be precise, we forced open the trapdoor of the valve chamber at Ittre. Two questions remained: what were we really going to find inside these chambers, and what kind of explosive charge should we plan for? Moreover, what would happen if under this simple metal covering there was an armored door or an alarm system?

There was nothing at all, except for the pipeline and its valve just three meters away from us! We closed the trapdoor with a new padlock, careful not to lose the key, and returned every day to make sure that our visit and the change of locks had not been detected.

On the morning of 11 December 1984, the CCC attacked the NATO pipelines. The enormous success of our actions was felt both in Belgium and abroad, and is a moment in our struggle of which we are extremely proud.

So much for the 'military secrets' in the hands of the CCC! So much for the pipeline plans we received from the Red Army Faction! The story illustrates, rather, how militants can strike NATO a very hard blow and do it again whenever they feel like it!

Intelligence gathering is nothing to be ashamed of; it is a totally necessary activity. We devote a great deal of our actual work to spying on the economic, political or military systems of the bourgeoisie. The more we do, the more we succeed in penetrating its 'secrets'. In self-defense, the bourgeoisie says that this is impossible, and that our information came from the KGB or the Mafia! One final example of how we obtain our information comes from our attack on SHAPE at Sint-Stevens Woluwe.

The headline in *La Dernière Heure* of Wednesday, 16 January, read 'Well Informed', and the article began thus: 'Somebody must have been fiendishly, incredibly well informed to discover that No. 13, Chaussée de Louvain in Sint-Stevens Woluwe housed a clandestine US military complex.' This must be another of our 'military secrets'!

Comrades travelling to Louvain by car noticed a brown van with US Army

plates parked in front of the building. They transmitted this information to the CCC and we went to verify their report. Indeed, members of the US military were seen entering the building, and all the license plates on the vehicles parked in front indicated that they belonged to SHAPE. In addition, American MPs were guarding the entrance.

For further information, we went back to consult our 'secret files', that incredible phone book for the district of Zaventem! On page 1,216 you will find a list of the Yankee institutions at that address, which also explained why we had not known that the 'US Benelux Contracting Directorate' had moved out of the building shortly before, probably after the phone book was published.

The phone book is a number one best-seller, and the telephone itself is so easy and so convenient to use!

We wish to make one more thing clear regarding our attack on SHAPE. Having examined the problem of class consciousness, we decided that for our first campaign, our action would not include the execution of enemy leaders.

We did, however, wish to launch a direct attack on SHAPE, yet all its buildings are kept under military guard. The new militant consciousness served as the basis for our decision, after the attack on the pipelines, to risk wounding or killing the US military guards. We must admit that this new, offensive attitude surprised even us, yet the historical justification of our policy is a great incentive. After three months of struggle, therefore, favorable reactions to our efforts encouraged us to plan and to carry out the attack.

Since the MPs were not VIPs and it was not the purpose of the attack to execute them, we gave them the opportunity to desert their posts, which is what they did and why they are still alive. Desertion is the only way out for agents and mercenaries of capitalism.

This is not the only illusion we have to destroy, and the bubble we have to burst now is an important one. The police have made their assertions, but our comrades have often wanted to know from us, given our attitude in regard to the matter, which is not typically 'leftist', just how the CCC and their struggle are financed.

Accustomed to being taken for everything they have by leftist swindlers, many comrades are surprised upon meeting us that we do not proceed to empty their wallets. They all still remember that these past 20 years of the so-called leftist struggle have also been marked by the racket engaged in by certain printers or other money-hungry persons. The libertarian or socialist paradise was obtained during long nights of black marketing, the co-management of debts and bankruptcies or still other frauds. Those of the ilk of J-C Garot, Roger Noel and other pimps of militantism have corrupted everything they have touched, and no one has forgotten them!

Hence the question of how we are funded, since we will not pimp for a living. In the pile of junk that constituted the 'investigation' by J-P Colette in the issues of 12 and 13 January of *Le Soir*, into the financing of the revolutionary struggle, we find such phrases as 'too costly for simple leftist', 'financed by a secret sponsor', 'crime does pay', and 'subversive patronage'. The first premise was correct, for our initial campaign did cost a great deal of money, and the development and operation of the cells requires a large monthly budget.

The first thing to do in attempting to stay within a budget, which is a political decision for communists, is to combat waste and mismanagement. This may seem naive, but it must be realized that for our militants there is no private property and that all our strengths and skills are devoted to the cells and to their political objectives.

This strict discipline means we can give a militant whose work brings in more than the starting salary of a teacher the choice of contributing his excess salary to the cells. We must say, however, that there are not many among us who earn that much – CCC members are not college teachers or white collar workers.

Comrades who are not militant members of the cells but who are attracted by our political struggle wish to show their solidarity with us by assisting us financially. We accept this solidarity for the progress in communication and the political discussions it engenders.

However, most of the money the CCC need for their struggle is obtained from the 'proletarian expropriations' made by our militants from banks and their branches. The money taken from the bourgeoisie during these proletarian expropriations is administered by the cells for purposes of the struggle. We take from the bourgeoisie a small part of the spoils stolen from the workers, and return it to the proletariat through our revolutionary action.

The expropriation of bank funds, under the direction and in the service of the revolutionary struggle, is fair and has always been practiced. As Lenin said, 'the confiscated funds are used partially for the needs of the Party, partially to buy weapons and prepare for insurrection, and partially to maintain the militants leading the particular struggle'. Comrade Stalin himself took part in bank expropriations and transporting funds for the Bolshevik Party, such as the famous 12 June 1907 expropriation in Tiflis, which brought 341,000 rubles into the Party!

Proletarian expropriation is a military task implemented, as others are, under the direction of the organization. It is done conscientiously and seriously, with firmness and determination, humbly and proudly.

We hope that those worried about our finances will be satisfied by our answer! Those cops who were hoping we would publish a list of our proletarian expropriations will have hoped in vain. When we decide to claim credit for one of our fund-raisers, we will make the decision before, not after, the operation.

There is one other point. The reformist and legalist movement characterizing the entire political struggle in this country since the end of the Second World War has reinforced the notion of the invincibility of the domination by the bourgeoisie through its cops and its gendarmes. Do not try to deny this objective power, because anyone who believes that the revolutionary struggle can progress without the cops sooner or later arresting or killing our comrades is not only a dreamer, but also is dangerous.

Today, however, we are opposed by filth, and the ideology of the vanquished has so polluted the militant world that no one can imagine being victorious in combat; our initial campaign and its great success seem almost surrealistic! Let us leave surrealism to the artists and despair to the past. Who we are, where we come from, and why our first campaign was so successful can easily be understood and grasped by all authentic communist militants.

The *petite bourgeoisie* has the idea that the CCC do not 'fit in' with the present-day left in Belgium. This is quite true, yet what they have concluded is false, because the CCC are from Mars, at the very least. True, the CCC do not fit in with the present-day left in Belgium for the simple reason that they 'fit in' with the class struggle for communism. The 'petit bourgeois' seem to think that they are the center of the universe and that what they do not know does not exist.

In this section we will have to be quite discreet. Real comrades will understand that we cannot publish our family history without risking an unpleasant surprise.

The CCC first became a definite political and organizational entity in the struggle for communism in late 1982, and was the idea of a few comrades who had known each other for a long time through their militant or social activities. All had concluded, however, from thoroughly examining the national and international situation, that it was time to establish a communist guerrilla organization based on a critical evaluation of 15 years of armed struggle in the cities and on the restoration of Marxist-Leninism as a political objective.

The political and strategic plan and the unification of the cells emerged after numerous meetings, discussions, specific struggles; and when a certain level of development had been attained, a start was made on the organizational and clandestine work of the militant infrastructure.

As soon as their political unity was formally established, the cells attempted to stand on their own two feet with respect to matters of military organization, although this is not something that can simply be improvised. So, based on our meetings and critical discussions with other groups and organisations from abroad, we were able to establish, on minimal foundations, a distinct unity on matters of logistics.

What all the authors of detective stories believe will happen finally happened, when international revolutionaries raided the storage shelter of the Scoufflény quarry at Eccaussines. They seized 815 kilos of iremite, tolamite, triamite and dynamite: all the explosives used by the CCC during their first anti-imperialist campaign.

All the pompous nonsense we have heard about combinations of military explosives or other secret formulas can be attributed to either the incompetence of the Army's munitions specialists or the shady dealings of the GIA-PTB.

Perhaps the future will provide other examples of comrades with more practical experience sharing their knowledge collectively. The CCC believe that a strong sense of solidarity among revolutionaries is just as important as the most radical of political criticisms.

Yet our most basic activity in 1983 and 1984 centered around our efforts at establishing a political approach and at expanding our operations. Our militants went out to explain the political purpose of the CCC to as many trusted comrades as possible, and learned how to listen to criticism, consider demands, and communicate their enthusiasm to others.

As our initial campaign began, we felt that we had taken our efforts as far as our forces and the situation allowed. The political positions of the CCC were set out in action communiqués (an easy task) and our political militants were turned into guerrilla fighters (not quite as easy). The anti-imperialist campaign was the

culmination of the political work undertaken, and also made it possible to weed out the undecided and the adventurer-anarchists.

What simply must be understood, and explains why the *petite bourgeois* of the 'left' take a licking every time, is that the success of our struggle lies in its political orientation, not in any pathological paranoia. The resources we were able to assemble for our offensive came to us only when it became evident that they were essential for carrying out our political will.

'We want another world and we are fighting to get it' is not a cry of despair; it expresses total confidence in the future of mankind, an objective attachment to the theories of scientific socialism and their historical justification.

When members of the left grant interviews to the press and wax poetic over our struggle, we realize that they do not understand how we came on the scene as an aggressive political force, while they themselves lean more towards alcoholism and nervous depression. The PTB [Belgian Labor Party] cannot figure out where we came from, seeing that it became official in 1979, and that, outside the Party, nothing is possible. But let class differences and the objective strength they generate disturb their blind subjectivism and every single one of them falls flat on his face. This is the proof that they understand absolutely nothing and have no hope of ever improving their lot.

We noticed this defeatist attitude referred to above particularly at the time of the big [police] raid on 19 October. Some, in all sincerity, still cannot understand why we were not all arrested (gee, thanks!), why we did not then 'respond', why we have never said anything, and so forth. Others cannot believe that we haven't been infiltrated by all the different police units or manipulated by the ghost of Goering. We get the feeling that when these people get up in the morning they do not face their day very optimistically.

To be provocative about it, we would be tempted to say that we have no comment on the 19 October raid. The only advice we could give to those interested is that it will certainly not be the last such raid and that the years of pacifist-social misery are coming to an end. Not as a result of our political-military battle, but because the crisis can only get worse, and will radicalize the antagonism between the classes and inevitably lead to an imperialist war or a revolution.

The political idealism with which the bourgeois democrats deceive the masses is an attempt to portray the historical types of bourgeois dictatorship as external to the traditional movement of capitalism. This is a fraud because it fails to attribute to economics and its contradictory laws a decisive role in social history while attributing a false authority to the role of political power.

Whether the democrats like it or not, the bourgeois dictatorship is characterized by selfish domination. It masquerades, as its interests dictate at different times and in different places, as bourgeois democracy or military fascism, or at times somewhere between these two extremes.

Bourgeois democracy is the form it takes when society is pacified to such an extent that no antagonism can be considered threatening.

Fascist dictatorship, with its police or military apparatus, is the way bourgeoisie defends its hegemony when irreconcilable class differences create a struggle in which class power is at issue.

The big raid of 19 October is an example of this situation. The bourgeoisie fears revolutionary politics because it knows how dangerous they are. And so, when confronted with a genuine demonstration of such politics for the first time in a very long time, it is forced to react very violently.

Parenthetically, when we say that the 19 October raid was a violent reaction, we do not wish to be grouped with those whining ecologists. Those who are always griping that their bourgeois honor has been violated will never understand, since they are so comfortable within the system, that they are part and parcel of imperialism and that it is thanks to them that the system is able to function.

There are two main reasons behind the 19 October raid. The first, and most obvious, involves a direct police action: arrest the CCC militants and destroy the guerrilla infra-structure. On that level, their failure is overwhelming. Why? Because we have thoroughly analysed the bourgeois dictatorship even in its democratic form, have evaluated the quality and objectives of our revolutionary struggle, and have organized ourselves accordingly.

After the raid, the 'in' thing to say in 'leftist' circles was 'we expected it to happen', whereas in truth none of these little democrats had done anything about it. This separates the true revolutionaries from those who are always running to their blessed mother democracy!

The second reason for the raid was to try to isolate us through large-scale police terrorism. This is not a new technique. The German police call it 'drying up the swamp of sympathy'. Society must be terrorized so that it cannot sustain the revolutionary communists. This strategy is only effective against the petit bourgeois, who are the first to become traitors in their desire to maintain their little privileges. Since the policy of the CCC is directed by the cause of the proletariat and is developed directly within the working class, the cops are not isolating us; the opposite is true, for we are expanding.

We recall that immediately following the raid, the left regained some of its vigor by organizing a response to it. A number of meetings were held in various places and all were pathetic failures. Why? Because these little has-beens did not want to understand the terrorism of the bourgeois state, and followed a course of action, condemning our struggle, both frenzied and solitary.

No one followed them, and not only did they, for the nth time, as if this were necessary, give themselves away and cover themselves with ridicule, they destroyed any chances for a spontaneous revolt and the possibilities generated by the police aggression.

We said above that the police raid would certainly not be the last, but it would be more accurate to say that they have never stopped since October 1984. Search warrants, shadowing, phone-bugging, blackmail, etc., are here to stay and will only get worse.

One of the silliest explanations imaginable is being chanted by the media and mimicked by others who are really ignorant but don't want to seem too dumb: 'the revolutionary guerrilla movement hopes to bring about a situation of police fascism and thus provoke increasing social discontent.' A statement like this reveals only the extent of the stupidity of those who make it.

There has never been any intention, especially by the CCC, to base an historic

revolutionary strategy on the radicalization of the police. How stupid can you get? What the Marxists know, however, is that the expansion of the class struggle inevitably leads to police and military repression. The issue, then, is not one of whether or not one 'wants' the exercise of repression, but of being prepared for it, because it will be increasingly evident as the revolutionary process continues.

The problem can only be expressed in the following terms: in order to vanquish the forces of the enemy and install its own dictatorship, the proletariat and its vanguard must deploy superior forces, under the direction of the Communist Party. At our embryonic organizational level, the fact that the 19 October raid did not weaken us indicates that our political goals are right, and that our analysis of the situation and its requirements, as implemented by us, are correct. Our revolutionary policy is based on clandestine guerrilla warfare, the only path to choose.

Why did we make no 'response' to the raid? Simply because we do not engage in dialogue with the bourgeois State; we are, however, engaged in combating it. For the communists, it does not matter whether repression does or does not exist, since we know that there will be more and more of it! The task of the revolutionaries is to organize and lead the proletarian forces in the class struggle. In the class struggle, as in any other type of war, one side does not show its indignation when dealt a blow by the other side, unless the reason for fighting has been forgotten and all other reason has been lost.

This matter of 'responding' to repression is indicative of political positions that remain mired in bourgeois legalism or an idealism based on a complete lack of understanding of the totally opposite interests of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.

We do not wish to say at this time that we will never respond to the extortion of the enemy, but that is another matter and each situation must be thoroughly analysed to determine the political or military interests of each particular counter-attack. To conclude this discussion of the 19 October raid, we will say that our 'response' is permanent and is based on the continuity of our ongoing struggle.

Since we came on the scene in early October, a dubious game seems to have become disturbingly popular here in this little country – bomb scares, often attributed to us. We have several remarks to make on this subject.

'Remarks' is all we can offer because we can do little to change this situation. Since we are directly involved, however, we would like to give our opinion.

We are the Fighting Communist Cells, a revolutionary political organization in which our comrades are collectively responsible for our militant activities. For us militants, the CCC organization is our identity, our struggle, and our entire life. It is dishonest, therefore, to attribute actions to us when we have had no part of them, even if carried out by anarchists with the best of intentions, and all hell breaks loose in the office of a government minister we do not accept such behavior and strongly criticize these immoral actions.

Our criticism is even stronger when our actions are claimed by those whose policy we protest against. We will not say that the police provocation of 16 October (Commando Delta) was such a case, but we do know that responsibility for our attack on the CVP in Ghent was falsely claimed by others, advocates of the Walloon federalist policy in Liège.

We said when we broached this subject that we cannot prevent this from happening, but we feel that some are using us, albeit in good faith. They do not know us and, although they are acting with the best of intentions, we ask that they immediately cease this practice which we entirely oppose.

We wish to say two things to those who are hoping to sabotage the operations of bourgeois institutions through a series of false alarms, even if our name is not used. First, they may think this is funny, but it still cannot be taken seriously and is rather unimaginative. The revolutionary organization and its struggle is more than just using the phone to send shivers down people's spines. Second, this practice is shameful when workers are the ones who suffer as a result. In October, a false alarm on the Brussels–Tienen railroad immobilized all trains for several hours. Taking workers hostage simply in order to help somebody release his pent-up frustrations must have been the work of either irresponsible imbeciles or the cops.

Recent events require us to add one final point to our 'concrete answers'. On 20 and 21 April, two attacks were carried out in Brussels on the NATO Assembly and the multinational corporation AEG–Telefunken. The following week, these attacks were claimed by 'FRAP', a unit of the 20/4 [20 April].

We do not intend to analyse these actions or the FRAP, for all we know about them is what the media reported, however reliable that may be. We are not familiar with this group or its political orientation, but from what we read it appears to consist of insurgent anarchists. Time will tell.

Talking about these people and their actions is not important, however. What is important is to denounce the psychological battle the media have launched against us on the basis of those actions.

The 22 April edition of *Le Soir* asked, 'FRAP – new name for the CCC?' On the same day, in *DH*, we read, 'A CCC splinter group?' This morning, *La Libre Belgique* observed: 'Some, not finding the CCC combative enough, perhaps created FRAP to carry on with these terrorist activities.'

We repeat, we do not know this group FRAP and have no contact with these militants. We wish to make it clear that no division has occurred within the ranks of the CCC, which happens to be expanding these days.

The communist has no fear of political clarification; if this becomes necessary at some future date it will never be refused, for otherwise the organization will have no future. Thus, if some day, as has happened many times in the past, the revolutionaries have to split from the revisionists, we will do so and inform the working class.

But how can anyone think that such a split within the CCC is possible today? Do the journalists believe that our political struggle and the committing of our lives to the revolution is a mere whim? They cannot make any sense out of what they write, e.g., '... the sympathy they [the CCC] have garnered since then [the fall of 1984, the time of the political–military initiative] has probably increased their membership'.

The only excuse we can find for the ineptness of Roger Rosart, who wrote the above in *La Libre Belgique*, is that he has become so used to the show put on by the left that he has got them mixed up with us. Inasmuch as personal success is the criterion in all these different 'Parties', more communist than internationalist, the

URDT included, the thing to do is to create as many little groups as there are potential members. The main activity of these little groups is casting aspersions on each other.

In the cells, however, the unifying activity is the class struggle for the communist revolution. Rather than wanting to split, we are increasingly eager to unify ourselves along the Marxist-Leninist line. Becoming a CCC militant and being willing to risk our lives and sacrifice our freedom for the revolution are highly responsible political decisions that can be made only when a strong political identity exists that does not change with the changing seasons.

This is the conclusion of our communication. The struggle continues and nothing will stop the proletarian offensive. We shall be victorious.

Fighting Communist Cells
Late April 1985

Communiqué, dated April 1985, on 'Armed Struggle'

1. It would be an understatement to say that the advent of revolutionary guerrilla tactics has created ripples in the miserable daily grind of political struggle in Belgium. At first glance, it might be thought that this uproar is caused solely by the fact that the activities of the CCC, offensive politico-military attacks, are upsetting the collaborationist tendencies of organizations born out of the class struggle. What emerges from a cursory examination, and what would appear to set us apart from the reformist groups, organizations or parties, is the fact that we are waging an armed struggle.

But this simplistic view of what separates the revolutionary struggle from the reformist fossils is mistaken. It is not armed struggle that sets the CCC fundamentally apart from the rest of the political spectrum, but, above all, our authentic Marxist-Leninist leadership and genuinely revolutionary outlook. Political analysis has dictated the need for armed struggle and it is on the basis of this analysis that the unity, collective progress, and mobilization of the proletariat will be established on a lasting basis.

We have already experienced great sympathy and great hatred over this hazy view in which our struggle is reduced to its armed actions alone. Furthermore, we are all the more mistrustful of the fragility of sympathies that rely on this feature alone and we realize how fleeting such sympathies are. We therefore intend to explain, for the first time in this text, the political will that drives the fundamental strategic option of armed struggle, together with its origins, perspectives, and tactical appropriateness, etc.

2. In order to analyse a particular strategic choice correctly, one should examine what the fundamental task of the revolutionary really is. One thing forgotten long ago by all those who, amidst their calm integration, usurp and dilute this undertaking, is that *the task of the revolutionary is to wage a revolution*. In the broadest terms, this is reflected in two important focal points. The first, of primary importance at a time when the international revolutionary movement is experiencing a rebirth, is a political task. It is the struggle to bring about the emergence and expansion of class consciousness. Class consciousness means a collective analysis by the workers of their plight within the capitalist mode of production, of the class contradictions within this system, of the historical outlook of the evolution of the proletariat, and of the political and organizational means to be used to overthrow the bourgeoisie. This class consciousness provides the ideological basis for affirming the Marxist-Leninist outlook in a progressive and qualitative movement that draws its sustenance within an offensive balance.

From an international stance, a materialistic analysis of the proletarian class, its objective situation, and its evolution does pose a great many questions that Marxism-Leninism alone can answer. For example: what organization should the working class use to gain victory; what is the nature of the State under the

bourgeois dictatorship; what is the contemporary outlook for class combat; why should one fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat; etc?

This political work, which consists of propaganda, debate, of building political, theoretical, and strategic models, of critical and instructional appraisals of the experiences of past and present, and of awareness-building, can exist only within the framework of class struggle. Awareness can be born only through combat and it reinforces combat in a dialectical relationship. This priority political task should therefore be understood not as the mysterious absolute from the carriers of the good word, but as a central and decisive element for developing the revolutionary process on the march toward socialism.

3. The second fundamental task, inseparable from the first, is to engage in organizational work. This means organizing and unifying the ever-expanding potential for the emergence of class consciousness and the manifestations of spontaneous struggle under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism in order to create a genuine, historical, revolutionary force.

We shall discuss this feature of organizational work later. We wish to emphasize, however, that while we have relegated this task to a second, albeit inseparable, position, it is only because, for us, and for the entire international communist movement alike, the critical appraisal of 15 years of armed struggle in the metropolises reveals certain gaps in the political leadership which absolutely need to be filled. It is therefore our contention that since politics is the key factor in class unification, in the current setting, after 40 years of revisionism, great efforts must be made to reestablish revolutionary Marxism in the proletariat.

4. All political work must be viewed starting with specific situations. Only a clear and correct view from the perspective of class makes it possible to define the priority focal points for this work, the gaps to be filled, the responses to be provided, and the errors to combat. Starting with specific situations also means that in order to optimize this political work, it must be adapted and modelled in terms of the landscape on which it is being conducted. Political work must provide comprehensive and historical responses drawing from specific struggle scenarios. In particular, it must start with the specific features of every struggle in order to arrive at the general nature of revolutionary combat.

5. Currently, in Belgium and in other countries alike, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat are confronting one another on two basic levels: in the struggle against austerity and the struggle against war. Contemporary class conflict centers on these two confrontations.

On each of these two battlefields, one or more irreducible contradictions pit the exploited and the exploiters against one another in absolute terms. In each instance, the impossibility of reaching a negotiated settlement with the bourgeoisie forces the opposition to the capitalist mode of production to become increasingly absolute, and thereby increasingly political as well. Ultimately, faced with these two knots of antagonism, the reformist and collaborationist organizations (the PC [Communist Party of Belgium], PS [Socialist Party of Belgium], the labor unions, and the peace movements, for example), have lost all credibility in terms of their commitment and ability to confront this situation.

It is therefore our contention that the setting is historically auspicious for

establishing and developing a strong revolutionary movement, provided the political leadership of the vanguards of this movement is capable of understanding the potential and the demands of this setting and of carrying out its duty in confronting these factors.

The CCC therefore base their policy within the two areas in which the bourgeoisie and the proletariat are confronting one another as part of the historic evolution of communism.

6. There are nevertheless many other areas of mobilization through which popular discontent and its commitment to a less unjust world are expressed. There are, for example, the struggles against the oppressive gala for the 'Wojtyla incursion' [visit of Pope John Paul II], the famine in Ethiopia, the criminalization of abortion, the frenzied development of the nuclear industry, the degradation of the environment, the US interventions in Latin America, etc., etc.

But, even if it is true that these demands are essentially legitimate, they are reformist in nature and therefore secondary concerns, and they cannot be taken into account as the kind of contradictions that would make it possible to achieve the political and organizational homogenization of the working class. Reformist struggles are by no means inimical to capitalist development, are generally aimed at seeking accommodation with it, and are never aimed at its destruction, which also explains why these struggles are almost always led by *petit-bourgeois* intellectuals, whose historical role in this age is to serve as the conveyors of bourgeois ideology to the masses.

To summarize, it is our belief that reformist struggles are the expression of objective contradictions between society and imperialism, and revolutionaries must therefore respond to them. But in no way do they offer the all-encompassing potential, the historical irreducibility that defines the struggle against austerity and the struggle against war (even if today the organization of the masses with regard to these issues is in the hands of the bourgeoisie and the petite bourgeoisie).

7. According to this analysis of the state of affairs, what is the main focal point on which political work should concentrate? An understanding of the universal nature of all the problems our class confronts should be fostered: expanding understanding of imperialism as the final stage of the capitalist mode of production, of class struggle as the driving force of history, of the need to destroy the capitalist mode of production and establish the Workers' State - socialism - as the only answer to our problems.

For the CCC, as for any logical revolutionary, the objective unity of interests for the proletarian class must therefore be given the spotlight, and, on that basis, the specific perspectives of the march toward socialism must be delineated.

The entire activity of the CCC leans in this direction by joining the anti-austerity and anti-war movements into a single class movement against capitalism, the maker of crises and wars, and by joining each portion of the whole into the struggle for socialism.

8. As we stressed earlier, any political development requires organizational development. Today, in an age when the effects of the crisis and the memory of the working class nurture a trend toward increasing worker awareness, when the development of a mass revolutionary strategy for seizing power is essential, and

when imperialism has brought about a proletarianization of the entire working world, the creation and building of a vanguard organization of all sectors is a very timely concern.

The appropriate political and military instrument for formalizing and optimizing the potential and the demands of the situation, the tool whose need is making itself felt with increasing gravity in all workers' struggles, is the Combatant Proletarian Organization.

The establishment of this organization is the first great historic step to be taken, and the CCC will be one of its constituent elements.

9. The task of this organization, this organized form of the proletarian class and its struggle, is to provide political leadership for the class movement. This function has become essential because only the organization, already guided by the teachings of scientific socialism, is capable of seizing the entire class movement and of correctly organizing it out of the expression of a radicalized antagonism. The organization finds legitimacy in proletarian combat and becomes essential to the development thereof. It assumes concrete form in the disciplined unification of the vanguard and combatant elements under the leadership of Marxism-Leninism. The merger of these two components is essential and will enable the organization to restore just and revolutionary leadership to mass combat, which, from the radicalization of the confrontation and the development of revolutionary forces, will necessitate and allow the establishment of the Combatant Communist Party, whose most important role will be to lead the proletariat onward to class dictatorship.

10. The qualitative, and, unavoidably, quantitative, leap, that the legitimate establishment of the organization represents for the class movement can therefore only result from, and be a reflection of, the qualitative and quantitative development of its forces. In concrete terms, this will be reflected in the field by Marxist-Leninist workers' leadership, the establishment of numerous clandestine cells in the factories, utilities, unemployment offices, militant anti-war committees, and the labor union movement (its base!), etc.

This organizational work will be, as it already is for us today, clandestine, but we must explain here what we mean by this clandestinization. It is a mass clandestineness within the masses. It is clandestinization of revolutionary activity and not of revolutionary militants. The militants must remain inside the working world, the social universe of the proletariat, and must hide, with forethought, their militant activities within the organization with a discretion necessitated by the degree of repression the bourgeoisie exerts against the level of revolutionary development.

The repression conducted by the mercenaries of the bourgeoisie is inevitable when the Proletarian Organization develops a truly revolutionary policy, that is, is organized on the basis of destroying the bourgeois State and establishing the workers' state, destroying the capitalist mode of production and building socialism, and annihilating the bourgeois army and imposing the authority of the Red Army. Both political leadership and clandestinization of the masses require strict collective discipline unfettered by even the slightest dissent, which will knock out more than one democrat or liberal, but which will provide an objective indicator of serious revolutionary commitment and confidence.

11. How can revolutionary vanguards carry out this political and organizational work, and thereby claim legitimacy in this obligation? How can the mass movement make itself homogeneous and forge ahead in the revolutionary cause? We must henceforth advance the fundamental strategic options that can guide the mass movement under Marxist-Leninist leadership. For the CCC, historical materialistic analysis makes armed struggle the main strategic option for today, one that cannot be put off, and one that alone can bring about the qualitative and quantitative development of class combat for communism.

12. A word of caution is in order with regard to this point. When we say that armed struggle is the main strategic option for today, what is our position regarding other forms of struggle carried out by the workers? Our answer is that everything that contributes to strengthening the revolutionary process, to the growing penetration of theories of scientific socialism into the working world, to the ever more combative unity of the proletariat, is correct, even if the form of struggle is not armed. We certainly do not regard the rifle as the gauge of correctness. We simply regard the waging of revolutionary armed violence as particularly suitable and useful in the fight for communism today.

13. It should be clear that the increasingly vital role played by armed struggle in the revolutionary process depends, on its offensive capacity, on the increasingly absolute evolution of the capitalist dictatorship, which has reduced a good number of formulas for 'participatory' struggle to uselessness or worse.

Today, because monopolistic capitalism is triumphant, and because, through its worldwide reach, it has made imperialism its hegemonistic form of the capitalist mode of production, the State's merger with capital is on the rise, it is becoming a direct function of capital, and the latter is invading all areas of human life. The consequence is the widest possible spread of alienation and dehumanization, and an increasing merger of all superstructures, i.e., repressive tools of control, culture, ideology, communications, and the fragmentation/articulation of social groups. This makes any participation, even tactical, in running the State through 'democratic' institutions and mechanisms lead to the strengthening of this operation, and therefore to the power of the bourgeoisie, and it becomes completely unrealistic, given the homogeneity and the power of the ideological, political, military and economic devices, to attempt to build awareness among the proletarian masses in order to overthrow State power by traditional means of peaceful class struggle, since the might of capital and its institutions is much too powerful to enable one to envision competition ever successfully striking a balance in the correlation of forces in this area.¹

14. One of the intrinsic assets of armed action (one at which people far too often stop) is that it is the direct, concrete destruction of the authorities of domination and of bourgeois power. It is true that the decommissioning of the essential cogs of bourgeois power clearly makes it possible to draw a very distinct line between the enemy and us.

15. But we think that today another asset should be accorded fundamental

attention. Armed action reinforces and stimulates the awareness of the working class in that it may be the bearer of victories (even partial). For the first time in far too many years, it is no longer we, the workers and militants, who are taking it by the throat, but the bourgeoisie which is suffering defeat after defeat. Even if one thinks that these victories are fleeting in the course of events, after years of treachery, of defeats, of demonstrations leading to beatings, of prison, of hopeless plant or workshop occupations, of sacrifices during strikes in which we won nothing, all under the scornful eye of the lords who govern, the slightest victory counts in that it teaches how it was won, and opens the door to future victorious combats.

16. The armed struggle for communism is a particularly effective vector of propaganda when it is conducted correctly. This strength lies in the fact that it carries with it a break with the democratic circus, in which the bourgeoisie writes the script, in that it is objective destruction among the enemy, in that it bears witness to the organization, albeit still limited, of organized proletarian forces for class struggle, and in that it is irreconcilable with the paid ideologies of bourgeoisie: 'Deeds are stubborn!'

17. Furthermore, insofar as it is a revolutionary break, the waging of armed struggle anticipates and prepares for future stages of the revolutionary movement, the civil war, insurrection, for the seizure of power by the proletariat and the elimination of the bourgeoisie and its agents. The class movement, steeped in guerrilla struggle, will arrive at the decisive watersheds of its history with experience and organization, the genuine strengths of political, organizational, and even subjective maturity that are absolutely necessary.

18. The armed struggle for communism makes it possible at last to unmask with actions all the traitors in the workers' movement, all those who never fail to side with the bourgeoisie and to denounce revolutionaries when the storm warning is heard! Armed struggle has a character of concrete anticipation of workers' power, and it unmasks the politics of collaboration and integration of the labor union and reformist traitors.

19. Above all, armed struggle expresses the practice of genuine proletarian internationalism, because, in an age when the capitalist mode of production has made its dominion worldwide, in an age of imperialism, increasing unity has taken root between the vanguards and the masses of the dominated countries and of the metropolises. This unity, confronting a common enemy, is born of revolutionary combat and makes it essential to attack the enemy on all fronts. At a time when so many of the world's peoples are fighting the beast with weapons in hand, the revolutionaries in the metropolises must attack the imperialist machine from behind with the same determination.

20. To summarize, the armed struggle for communism is: destruction within the bourgeoisie camp; demonstration of and confidence in the capacity to win; an instrument of propaganda, the revelation of a class position and an objective class practice; the possibility for progress and evolution; an outlook for the proletariat; and an internationalist effort.

21. Since the time of Marx, and up until the end of the second world war, rational communists have defended the idea of the rapid seizure of power by the

working class, in the form of an insurrection. Using the triumph of the October Revolution as its support, this idea was at the center of the establishment of the Third International (the Comintern), according to which the role of the communist parties was to develop a policy of awareness-building and organization of the masses on the basis of this deadline, and to do so either legally or 'paralegally'.

The failure of 'communist' parties organized according to this idea forces us to look at why the PCI, PCF, PCE, [communist parties of Italy, France and Spain] and others have sunk, first into revisionism, then into the most imbecilic of reform movements, transforming themselves into social democratic parties.

This idea, in which insurrection is put off for better days, for a remote deadline for which one should be 'ready', has, gradually, or for years and years, led these parties to lose sight of and forget the purpose of their reason. The mushrooming of the licit work of 'awareness building' has wound up encompassing the full range of activities of these parties, leading them, driven by an anxious populism, to move only within the arena of bourgeois legality, that is, to participate actively in its balance.

If, henceforth, the goal – the violent seizing of power by the proletariat – and the deadline are not taken into account in each of our actions, then, in fact, this deadline will become even more remote.

The 'vanguards' of the working class who do not conduct all their efforts with an aim to achieving the seizure of power by the masses and the waging of revolutionary violence quickly become 'rearguards', floundering in revisionism, reformism and treachery.

22. If, politically speaking, the limited concept of seizing power through insurrection and its relationship to an ever more remote and ideal deadline have opened the door of the worker parties to bourgeois and reformist lines of thought, today, moreover, it has lost all relevancy from a military standpoint. The overwhelming power of imperialism, its transnational politico-military organization of counter-insurrection (NATO), its constant vigilance against revolutionary initiatives through its policy of 'preventive counter-revolution', and the demonstrated impossibility of conducting revolutionary work within the legal framework of the bourgeois dictatorship, force communists to re-examine their strategic options.

For, if it is true that the final phase of process by which the working class seizes power remains violent mass insurrection, then the strategy guiding the vanguards and revolutionary forces toward this deadline cannot be merely 'legal' political preparation for this goal.

23. In order to close the door for ever more to revisionism and its betrayals and in order to provide concrete organization (politically and militarily), those working for the final confrontation with the exploiters (who for years have consequently been arming themselves), the revolutionary struggle in general, and the armed struggle in particular, must therefore adopt the form of a *protracted people's war*.

24. It will be a war, because this entails a relationship of complete antagonism, with no room for mediation, there being nothing the belligerents have to share. Class warfare is a confrontation in which the existence of one party depends on the death of the other. In such a setting, the most extreme violence of the oppressed against the bourgeoisie expresses the greatest humanity, and the violence of the

mercenaries of capital against the oppressed expresses the greatest savagery and barbarism.

25. It will be a people's war, because a trend will take shape by which it will become the act of an ever-expanding stratum of people. There are two reasons for this. First, because it is the masses who decide history, and not a few groups, however well-motivated. The revolutionary process must be brought about by the mass movement and must cross all segments of the class. Second, because while the working class, especially the workers concentrated in the large factories, alone is capable, owing to its position within the mode of production, of completing the revolutionary process and the establishment of socialism, today it is the vast majority of people who, assembled around the working class who have an objective interest in overthrowing the bourgeoisie.

26. It will be protracted, because the road leading from the minority spark of revolutionary guerrilla war (even if truly welcomed by the masses), to popular insurrection is a long one, a lengthy process that will be forged by defeats and victories. The advanced sophistication of the power of the bourgeoisie and its might at all levels, political, military, ideological, repressive, etc., have raised mountains in the path of the revolutionary movement that will have to be moved and that will require great progress, and numerous tools, which remain to be built today! The process of political mobilization and organization of the working masses can never be accomplished within the space of a few days.

27. How can the revolutionary political vanguard mobilize and organize the masses toward the process of protracted people's war? We have already seen that the political vanguard must emphasize at all times the confrontation with bourgeois power and mobilize workers in this area. We have also stressed training in the waging of armed struggle to carry out this work in the current situation. These two observations meet in the tactic of armed propaganda. What do we mean by this term?

28. An armed propaganda action has a 'demonstrative' objective within a political goal. It demands the effective destruction (thus non-symbolic) of an important cog in the bourgeois system (this cog may just as well be a ship, a piece of equipment, a public official), chosen on the basis of the sectors of struggle that the masses have chosen for themselves, and on the basis of historically decisive confrontations.

This attack should make it possible to achieve a quantitative leap in the process of mobilizing the workers and increasing their awareness by raising qualitatively the level of spontaneous confrontation and by unifying the various forms of combat into an offensive and all-encompassing practice.

29. Only by expanding the actual waging of armed propaganda will the anti-austerity and anti-war movements be able to begin anew on just and offensive bases, to appraise critically the errors of the past, to create the political and practical instruments needed for this relaunching. The waging of armed propaganda, such as that in which the CCC engages through their attacks against imperialist militarism and the leaders of the crisis, unifies the working class within a new combat alternative: the armed struggle for communism.

30. In order for armed propaganda to attain every goal established, the CCC

have chosen a mode of operating through campaigns (not the least of which is this May Day action). By 'campaign' we mean a series of politico-military operations defined around a central theme. We start from a genuine and specific contradiction and then gather a series of attacks around that theme that will connect this or that specific aspect of the chosen sector with the overall strategy of armed struggle for communism.

Our 'first anti-imperialist campaign' was therefore centered on the question of the imperialist war, linked to the issue of missile-basing, was aimed against the arms industry, the ruling bourgeois parties, NATO and the ABL, and successfully outlined the revolutionary political alternative against the imperialist war: the civil war!

Moreover, operating through campaigns makes it possible to connect aspects that directly affect daily life with more universal concerns that are absolutely decisive. Campaigns also make it possible to demonstrate the power of the main tactical principles of warfare, and set into motion extremely varied forms of struggle (from Molotov cocktails at M.A.N. to car bombs at SHAPE), of which some are accessible to those who have the political will to fight. There are no 'high' or 'low' forms of action. There are only right or wrong actions!

31. Armed conflict in general should be demystified. We have therefore written the document 'Specific Answers to Specific Questions', and we hope that it will contribute toward that end. The core problem is a political one, in that the decision to conduct guerrilla attacks can be made only on clear and sturdy political bases, after which point the technical procedures will be settled according to needs and capacities of each one.

It should again be recalled that our primary task is agitation and propaganda and that it is only important to steer a correct political line, to anchor it deeply amidst the masses, and to ensure that it reverberates there, before thinking about effectively dismembering the enemy.

We are not at the stage where defeating the full force of the bourgeoisie has become a priority. Actions aimed at harassment may nevertheless be conducted with limited means, against peripheral targets, if these attacks produce genuine progress in the revolutionary process.

32. To assume an objective vanguard position is one thing. To achieve the full range of possibilities offered to the revolutionary movement through this role is quite another. Whatever the result, the sole task to which the political vanguards should devote themselves is to advance the mass movements on the road of the revolutionary process. This makes it essential not to lose sight of the constant link between the vanguards and the masses, and to ensure that each movement, each aspiration of the masses, fits into the policy of the vanguard, and that this policy is able to restore an all-encompassing perspective, one that unifies the class along Marxist-Leninist lines.

33. Today, the CCC are still too weak a force, too limited a social reality, to be able to seize the fertile field of the class movement in Belgium. Struggles, numerous worker and militant struggles, are undertaken each day without our being able to establish constructive political and organizational ties with them.

All sincere militants must assume a revolutionary line and practice at their work

places on their own. In each plant, in each workshop, in each partial struggle, comrades who know that the labor unions and reformist parties have always betrayed a Marxist-Leninist line should wage their combat from the stance of a protracted people's guerrilla war. It is there that we will meet one another, and out of the strength of these struggles, out of the unification of a thousand CCCs, the Combatant Proletarian Organization will at last be born. Mao Zedong said 'count on your own forces', and it is from that vantage point that the working class, its vanguard elements, should organize itself today.

34. 'Conventional' agitation and propaganda work should not disappear entirely; quite the contrary! This lawful work should always be conducted with all due seriousness, so that to whatever extent the bourgeoisie and its cops leave us the slightest possibility of public expression, we will exploit it to popularize our political stances to the widest possible extent. In this effort, the armed struggle waged by the guerrilla organization and the legal work of popularizing the revolutionary political line of Marxism-Leninism form a close dialectical relationship.

These two struggles are politically connected in that they are aimed at social revolution, and they must remain within reach of one another, nurturing and strengthening one another. This political bond must be even closer, since it alone is able to provide the link between the forum for legal agitation and revolutionary guerrilla warfare. An organizational link between legality and illegality is inopportune, which is something everyone can easily understand.

35. *Conclusion:* In October 1984, the CCC launched a radical and offensive alternative, one genuinely Marxist-Leninist in nature, as part of the class war. In a reform-minded militant setting, mired in the defeat and disorientation brought about by the infamous leaders of the *petite bourgeoisie*, we have uncovered the traitors and cleared the way for the mass anti-austerity and anti-war movements to coalesce. Sincere comrades, from this small step taken by the Cells, combatant workers must take a giant step! A giant step forward, following the Marxist-Leninist political and strategic line. 'There are two methods that we communists must apply in any work. The first is to connect the general with the specific. The other is to connect the leadership with the masses.'² This is very easy to understand. One must begin with specific situations and partial struggles (strikes, occupations, militant demands ...) to arrive at the totality of the problem, at the overthrow of the bourgeois dictatorship and the capitalist mode of production, by launching a comprehensive and historical alternative capable of responding to it. Marxism-Leninism must therefore be placed at the forefront of the class movement as a comprehensive political line and as a concrete weapon through the activities of organized communist vanguards.

AGAINST CAPITALISM AND ITS CRISIS, CIVIL WAR!

AGAINST IMPERIALIST WARFARE, CIVIL WAR!

LET US ORGANIZE AND STRIKE RELENTLESSLY!

ONWARD TOWARD ESTABLISHING THE PROLETARIAN COMBATANT ORGANIZATION!

ONWARD TOWARD COMMUNIST REVOLUTION!

ALL POWER TO THE WORKERS!

CCC

NOTES

1. The 'Subversion' Collective, Review No. 1, 'Against the Imperialist War, Long Live the Armed Struggle for Communism!'
2. Mao Zedong, *On Methods of Leadership*.

Communiqué on the Bombing of the Bank of America in Antwerp on 4 December 1985

On 4 December 1985 the Fighting Communist Cells attacked and destroyed the offices of the Bank of America at Van Eyckel 34 in Antwerp. The Bank of America is the second largest bank in the world and is one of the principal pillars of imperialism. Our action on 4 December was the fourth operation undertaken in the course of the 'Pierre Akkerman Campaign against bourgeois militarism and petty bourgeois pacifism', following the attacks made against Infosermi, the pacifist leadership and the Motorola Corporation.

Before we say anything else, we think that we need to clarify a point which our choice of objective will certainly raise.

On 4 and 5 November the cells began their offensive against the financial oligarchy, in the context of the 'Karl Marx Campaign.' We attacked the three largest banks in the country: the BBL, the SGB, and KB, as well as the MHB, one of the principal credit banks in the world. Now we are again attacking the banks, in the context of the 'Pierre Akkerman Campaign.'

So why are there two campaigns, if they are aimed at the same objective, if they overlap in covering the same ground?

Our first appearance, in October 1984, opened the 'October Anti-Imperialist Campaign', thus indicating that from the beginning of our struggle we chose, both now and in practice, to organize our program in a very carefully arranged way. Regarding our armed struggle, Point 30 in 'Documents of 1 May' declared:

For our armed propaganda to achieve all of the goals established for it, the cells chose a system of operating by campaigns. By 'campaign' we mean a series of political and military operations of armed propaganda around a central theme. We started from a real and concrete contradiction in order to develop around it a series of operations which would connect this or that specific aspect of the sector chosen and the overall strategy of the armed struggle for communism. Furthermore, operating in terms of 'campaigns' makes it possible to connect those aspects which directly affect daily life and broader causes which are decisive.

Experience and the various lessons which we can draw from this first year of combat now strengthens our view that this tactic was correct. The organization of our political and military struggle by 'campaigns' became necessary in the sense that we are pursuing a very specific goal. That is, we started from the historical materialist analysis of the specific situation affecting the class struggle in our country and the world situation in order to change in an objective way the balance of forces between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Thus, our whole struggle has been organized within an overall strategy, aimed at particular and progressive stages which are quantitatively and qualitatively favorable to the organization of the working class as a class by itself.

FIGHTING COMMUNIST CELLS

Contrary to the gossip in the media, which misrepresents our policy by presenting it as an accidental and anarchic congeries of operations by partisans, we always act after reflection and criticism, in a spirit of order and method, on the basis of precise analyses and as a function of the goals to be achieved, both political and organizational, immediate or historical.

Although the objective reality affecting the Fighting Communist Cells does not yet make it possible for us to claim the historic role of a communist organization, that is, the organism achieving the objective unity of the proletarian advanced guards and following the Marxist-Leninist line (whereas this is seriously lacking in the class struggle in our country), we must have an 'action element' in our organization, not only in our internal activity, above all in our place within the proletarian struggle.

Therefore, we have noted the following:

- Our first October anti-imperialist campaign led to the appearance of the cells and the resumption of the revolutionary struggle within the general contradiction: the people against imperialist war.
- the 'Karl Marx Campaign' posed the nature of the crisis: the failure of the capitalist system and the organization of the proletarian forces against the austerity program.
- The 'Pierre Akkerman Campaign' was a fighting initiative against bourgeois militarism, as well as a definitive criticism of *petit bourgeois* pacifism. It revealed the political and tactical correctness of our struggle and the development of our forces. On two occasions we made our offensive coincide with timely events and were therefore able to transform them: the anti-war mobilization and the Reagan visit. We will speak of these events again.

The course of events shed light on our work in this sense. The 'Pierre Akkerman Campaign' showed the progress made by the communist guerrilla movement against bourgeois militarism and the nature of petty bourgeois pacifism as seen through its failures. Our action taken against the Motorola Corporation was the best example of this.

However, the question still remains: why have we returned to the same objectives in different campaigns?

We returned to them quite naturally, in the sense that our various campaigns have all taken place within the class struggle and, in that way, they have confronted the same enemy: capitalism and the bourgeois dictatorship. Our correct analysis of imperialist war as a product of the system of capitalist production made it evident that sooner or later we were going to be faced with objectives in common with those of the 'Karl Marx Campaign.' In this case, the objective is financial capital.

However, we chose to attack banks as a function of the particular characteristics which linked them to each campaign: the BBL, the SGB, and the KB, which were directly identified by the proletariat as the bloodsuckers of the world of the workers, and the MHB as an aggressive representative of the imperialist economic order (in connection with Third World debt) for the 'Karl Marx Campaign.' The

Bank of America was chosen for the 'Pierre Akkerman Campaign' as a 'symbol' of decadent, warmongering capitalism.

Now we will review another point: the progress made in our struggle.

After the Geneva Summit, a war summit between the two super imperialisms, Reagan passed through Brussels to report to his clique of accomplices the timing and the organization of an early war involving the European theater. And in the face of this imperial and provocative visit by this gangster who was engaged in brewing his evil schemes, with the help of the sixth Martens cabinet, who was there to face up to him?

The Fighting Communist Cells and their Marxist-Leninist, revolutionary policy, and no one else! We showed what should be – and always has been – the proper and exemplary attitude of communists toward the imperialist pigs: standing up straight, ready to fight, with weapons in our hands! And the petty bourgeois pacifists, the reformists and the revisionists in the PC, the PTB, the POS, and their related groups were only able to show their eternal and hypocritical sulky expressions. (We must recognize the honesty of the POS, which replaced its slogan of 'Throw NATO Out' by the theme of 'Let's Get Out of NATO' in its most recent electoral publicity. In the next stage its slogan will be, 'Please, Mister Reagan.')

However, the fact that the cells turned out to be the only organized force objectively fighting against US imperialism and the summit meeting held between the imperialist powers demonstrated much more than our offensive capabilities or voluntarist practices whose subjectivism would certainly be open to criticism. What is important to emphasize is the Marxist-Leninist, political foundation of our struggle. This struggle requires confrontation and a objective class struggle. This gives it a sense of direction, a reason, a leadership, a mature objective, absolutely contrary to the various versions of *petit bourgeois* pacifism which misrepresent the historical facts of imperialist war, denying the class struggle, requiring an attitude of resignation and slave-like submission, and justifying a permanent process of retreat.

What are the reasons explaining the absence of the petty bourgeois pacifists when there was a question applying their political line when Reagan paraded through the bunkers of NATO? In the first place and very simply because the objective reality of the brutality of this visit was based on thousands of troops, and there was no longer any place for their illusions and their fine theories, as there cannot be any place for their poison in the consciences of sincere militants.

The Fighting Communist Cells attacked the visit by Reagan to NATO in a political and military way because our political line – in reality and not in theory – raises the question of imperialist war and the proletarian revolution. The cells were able to attack the Reagan visit in a political and military sense because they have learned, through the study of history and through the experience of daily life, that between the capitalists, the militarist, or the members of Parliament supporting them and the peoples of the world there is an abyss, an unconditional antagonism. Our final objective is the seizure of power by the proletariat under the leadership of their Communist Party. The attack against Reagan and the 'Geneva Summit' was a small, constructive step in this direction.

Pacifism and its supporters were not able to attack the Reagan visit because pacifism does not fight against anything (certainly not imperialist war but rather the anti-war movement). This is a policy organized by and logically emerging from the bourgeois dictatorship, in order to defend its interests more effectively. The objective of pacifism is to beg the warmongers for peace. For that reason we don't really see why pacifism should attack its own masters.

When pacifists need to polish up the image of their mediocrity and their treason, they can do no more than turn themselves over to the bourgeois courts, acting like sheep that people suffering from insomnia count, in this case jumping over the fences of military bases to fall into the arms of the police! The self-paralysis of pacifism is a form of collective desertion from the struggle.

The development of our revolutionary policy through the 'Pierre Akerman Campaign' and a clarification of the question of which is fighting against warmongering imperialism in opposition to the organizers of country picnics or other collectors of funds for the 'party' – these will become increasingly clear within the contradiction between the workers of the world and the warlike project of the bourgeoisie. The future will favor the struggle, the organization of the proletarian, advanced guard, communist forces. The professional parasites and the traitors to the class struggle will be swept aside by this formidable movement!

We will now conclude this statement with a final point directly linked to reality.

In the same way that we have explained our offensive position against imperialism and bourgeois militarism by the proper kind of Marxist-Leninist leadership, and certainly not by voluntarist subjectivism, we have been able to deliver blows against the enemy that are as incisive as they are destructive. Once again, the proper choice of tactics for the struggle rests on our political orientation. It has been determined as a function of our objectives and not by who knows what absence of military experience. We might mention parenthetically at this point the limited stupidity with which the 'extreme left' rambles on about our so-called military capabilities. This is only an admission of their own ignorance, their fetish for militarism, coupled with a limitless cowardice.

The choice we have made – and it is certainly not an absolute choice – to carry out our activities up to this point through the use of the revolutionary guerrilla movement is not a recipe regurgitated from Lumumba University in Moscow. Rather, it was adopted when our forces raised firmly and in a determined way the question of the struggle for communism within the class war here.

It is only with absolute confidence in the proletariat as a class, as well as with an objective attachment to historical and dialectical materialism, demanding human dignity in the struggle against exploitation, injustice, and misery, that our militants and our comrades have assembled the force and the intelligence which lead to victory.

We have certainly many criticisms to make of ourselves and we are learning from them. However, while distrusting a misplaced feeling of victory at hand, we can say that we are demonstrating now, by action, that the class enemy can be attacked and can be forced to suffer defeat and that maintaining a continued effort is possible in the offensive of the revolutionaries and the workers of the world!

The Fighting Communist Cells are showing that, starting from a position in

which we were encircled, paralysed and controlled by the bourgeois enemy, we can go over to the offensive against those surrounding and attacking us. They are showing that even weak forces, guided by the demand for a proletarian victory, that is, in that framework of the march of history, and guided by the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, can be powerful forces for the workers. What is necessary is for this revolutionary policy to have an increasing impact on the proletariat.

We will say it once more. Let every militant of the anti-war movement – if he is sincere – open his eyes, without fear and without weakness, to the outcome of the years of pacifist errors, comparing them to the results of the recently begun struggle of the Fighting Communist Cells on the question of imperialist war. As far as we are concerned, the fight goes on, but we want to tell everyone that there are moments when history speeds up in the sense that during certain periods the outcome can be either a future of misery or a future of progress and of liberation! It is in such a situation that we must now make the choice which will determine the outcome of the imperialist war: a proletarian revolution or several more decades of imperialist barbarism!

AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR, CIVIL WAR!

FORWARD TO THE BUILDING OF THE FIGHTING ORGANIZATION OF THE PROLETARIAT!

LET US ORGANIZE OURSELVES AND STRIKE WITHOUT PAUSE!

FORWARD TO THE COMMUNIST REVOLUTION!

ALL POWER TO THE WORKERS!

The Fighting Communist Cells
For the Construction of the Fighting Organization of the Proletariat

Letter, dated 6 December 1985, to the 'Workers and Comrades in France'

This morning, a group of the internationalist communists in France and the Fighting Communist Cells conducted three revolutionary guerrilla actions together, one at Versailles, two in Belgium. For the first time, the internationalist character of this offensive clearly shows our organization beyond national borders. Thus, having intervened in your situation, we wish to present and explain, although very briefly, the political project of the cells, our history, and our struggle.

This presentation seems necessary as a precaution: we already know that the media as a whole are sure to raise the specter of 'international terrorism', the KGB, or the 'Bulgarian connection', and, in particular, Direct Action. We are completely separate from all that. Those who know something about our struggle and our political positions are aware that what separates us from DA is the insurmountable gulf between Marxism-Leninism and anarcho-radicalism.

What are the Fighting Communist Cells? We are a young – and still very weak – organization of militants fighting for the communist revolution.

Unfortunately, however, history is filled more and more with improper manipulations of the communist idea or betrayals of its essence: one of the two principal imperialisms shamefully always claims to be acting in its name: the Chinese counter-revolution is reinstating capitalism in the name of its ideal and perceptiveness: and, under its cover the PCF [*Parti Communiste Français* – French Communist Party], since 1920, has been peddling its social-democratic orthodoxy. We must therefore give some clarifications regarding our communist affirmation.

We fight for the communist revolution, for the destruction of bourgeois power, for the construction of a classless and stateless society – a society in which the exploitation of man by man will be abolished, a humanity without misery and without war ...

For us Marxists, this is a very concrete objective that we consider attainable and know is inescapable in the evolution of humanity. Our entire commitment, identity and subjectivity are based on faith in the cause of the exploited, justified by so many heroic pages in the struggle of the people; draw their strength from the need for a new world, and find their rationale in the theories of scientific socialism. Our entire political, strategic and tactical organization is united on those grounds and has but one aim: revolution!

The policy, strategy and practice of the Fighting Communist Cells are guided by the living teachings of Marxism-Leninism. Very briefly, this means:

- Human societies are organized fundamentally on the basis of historical economic conditions; that is, the organization and development of production methods. The hegemonic method of production characterizing this era is

capitalism. In its current stage, monopolistic and world-wide, it is imperialism, the 'highest stage of capitalism'.

- Capitalism is a class system in which the interests of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat are in opposition to each other, in an antagonistic way. The means of production and accumulated wealth are in the hands of a small band of parasites – the bourgeoisie – while the vast majority of the population is deprived of the fruit of its labor. At this stage of this absolute imperialism, we say that the principal contradiction propelling the movement of history is the one setting the world proletariat against the imperialist bourgeoisie.
- The following issue emerges from history: the capitalist rationale no longer generates any progress in the development of productive forces. On the contrary, it can only generate, with increasingly tragic consequences, all its inherent defects: economic crises, over-exploitation of labor, unemployment, incessant wars, continent-wide famines, ecological catastrophes and disturbances, existential alienation and despair, etc. – Therefore, it makes good sense and is of current interest to consider getting beyond the situation and causing the disappearance of this economic order, which is as absurd as it is criminal.
- The proletariat is the social class called upon to accomplish this revolution. It alone is able to do so because of its position in the economic contradiction, and, by organizing itself as a class for itself under the guidance of its Communist Party, to bring together the living strength and the proper proletarian direction for seizing power. When the working class seizes power it means absolute authority of the world of labor over all the economic and political sectors, particularly the disappearance of private property and the socialist organization of production.
- The proletarian revolution will be a violent revolution. The dictatorship of the bourgeoisie is based inherently on the terrorist brutality of its mercenary armies, and at the time of the historical confrontation it will throw all its deadly madness into the battle. To defeat the bourgeoisie and its police henchmen, the working class must acquire a great political, ideological and military unity capable of crushing the enemy forces. The Communist Party, guided by Marxism-Leninism, and the Red Army, placed under its direction, are the political and military instruments that the working class must acquire (and which must emerge from its midst) to impose its own dictatorship: the dictatorship of the proletariat. By establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat, the working class will eliminate the bourgeoisie and thus will create the conditions for its self-extinction as a class.

The Fighting Communist Cells are full-fledged participants in the class struggle in Belgium. On the basis of the historical materialistic analysis of the social climate of our country and the potential and weaknesses of the proletarian movement – and taking into consideration the international context – we are working on the 'first task': the construction of the *Organization Combattante des*

Prolétaires [Proletarian Fighting Organization], that is, the organizational unification of the proletarian avant-gardes into an offensive and revolutionary association.

The construction, in the class struggle, of the Proletarian Fighting Organization, is therefore a primary task that the communists must tackle in our country ... and in yours! In our case, we have defined the current strategic period of the cells' battle as one of 'armed propaganda'.

The armed struggle for communism is a particularly effective propaganda vehicle when it is handled correctly. This force resides in the amount of change it causes in the democratic circus for which the bourgeoisie writes the program, in the extent to which it causes objective destruction to the enemy camp, in the fact that it attests to the still limited organization of proletarian forces organized for class war, and in that it is irretrievable insofar as the paid ideologues of the bourgeoisie are concerned: facts are facts!

'Moreover, the practice of armed struggle as revolutionary change anticipates and prepares the future phases of the revolutionary movement, civil war, insurrection for the seizure of power by the proletariat, and elimination of the bourgeoisie and its agents. The class movement, immersed in the guerrilla war, will come to the decisive crucial moments of its history with experience and organization – the absolutely necessary real strengths of political, organizational and even subjective maturity.

'The armed struggle for communism finally makes it possible, through events, to unmask all the traitors of the workers' movement, all those who are sure to join the bourgeoisie and denounce the revolutionaries when the storm breaks! Armed struggle is characterized by real anticipation of worker power, it unmasks the policies of 'collaboration' and integration of union and reformist traitors.

'And above all, the armed struggle expresses the practice of a true Proletarian Internationalism because, in the era of imperialism, increasingly greater unity is required among the avant-gardes and the masses of the dominated countries and the metropolises. This unity in the face of a common enemy is being achieved in the revolutionary struggle and is necessary to attack the enemy on all fronts. At a time when so many nations of the world are fighting the beast with weapons in hand, the revolutionaries in the metropolises are duty bound to attack the rear of the imperialist machine with the same determination. (Items 16 to 19 of our 'May 1 Document. Regarding Armed Struggle.')

In practice, to date, our policy has taken shape in three campaigns:

1. The First October Anti-Imperialist Campaign raised the issue of the revolutionary policy emerging within the contradiction that opposes entire populations to imperialism: the imperialist war. In our country, a big mass movement was mobilized against NATO's bellicose preparations, which are exemplified particularly by the establishment of US missiles on our territory. Through this campaign,

we restored the question of imperialist war to its matrix: the capitalist mode of production. We took the offensive against three multi-nationals directly involved in the war industry, against the political parties in the government, the Christian-Socialists and the Liberals, and finally against NATO armed forces. We ended this campaign on 15 January 1985.

On 1 May, Labor Day, we attacked and destroyed the headquarters of the *Fédération des Entreprises de Belgique* [Enterprise Federation of Belgium] in Brussels, the base of Belgian employers. In the course of our operation, the police were responsible for the death of two firemen, a tragedy to which we were only able to respond weakly a few days later by attacking the Logistics and Finance Administration of the police force, a special body of anti-worker repression under NATO command via 'National Defense'.

On 1 May we also published a series of documents, the main one of which was an initial overall definition of our revolutionary strategy: 'Regarding Armed Struggle'.

2. The 'Karl Marx Campaign' raised the issue of the workers' struggle against austerity and the need for worker organization. We began it on 8 October last with the action against Intercom, a giant in the production and distribution of power (gas, electricity), responsible, along with its peers in Europe, for hundreds of deaths last winter from freezing and destitution. Next, we destroyed the headquarters of Fabrimetal, a metallurgy employers' union, and on the same day, still in Charleroi, we attacked the 'Office of Direct Taxation'. On 4 and 5 November, the cells attacked and destroyed three main headquarters of the financial oligarchy: the three top banks in the country (already attacked on various occasions during worker demonstrations) and MHB, fourth largest credit institution in the USA, a veritable empire of the Third World. The 'Karl Marx Campaign' is still on today.

3. The 'Pierre Akkerman Campaign, fighting bourgeois militarism and petit-bourgeois pacifism', came about as a continuing progression of our first campaign. It is linked to recent current events: the anti-war mobilization of 20 October in Brussels, the inter-imperialist summit in Geneva, and Reagan's untimely incursion into NATO on the 21st. On 19 and 20 October, we attacked Inforsermi, a military recruitment center, and then denounced in a practical way the infamous doings of the pacifist *petits-bourgeois* whose only reason is to betray the anti-war movement by enveloping it in defeatist legalism. While Reagan was strutting around in the NATO bunkers, under the protection of thousands of cops and soldiers, our organization destroyed the European headquarters of US Motorola, the military electronics corporation, and the day before yesterday we attacked the Bank of America in Antwerp. This morning's three simultaneous actions ended the 'Pierre Akkerman Campaign', named after an internationalist communist who fell on 1 January 1937, in the battle of the international brigades.

Workers, Comrades,

This short presentation is certainly insufficient to inform you of the universality and characteristics of the Fighting Communist Cells. Nevertheless, we think it was proper to write it in that it is an approach that may tempt some of you to

continue to ponder over the standard and path of the communist revolution's battle. All we can do is address the same message to the workers of our country.

The Fighting Communist Organization, unifying those most ready to fight among the proletariat, is not born as a result of its own proclamation. The avant-gardes, with their wealth of experience and forces developed for the revolutionary finality, are unifying in the definite movement of battle. Today, we say to sincere comrades who are ready to fight: read, study and discuss the teachings of Marxism and Leninism: study and discuss the experiences of our class, read, study, circulate and criticize the political expression of revolutionaries in Europe and throughout the world today, enrich this heritage with your criticisms and in that context confront it in practice with the organization of the proletarian forces, and the doors of the future will open before you!

For communism,
Fighting Communist Cells

Communiqué on the Bombings of NATO Pipeline Facilities in Belgium and France, on 6 December 1985

On 6 December 1985 the Fighting Communist Cells and a group of internationalist communists in France carried out three simultaneous and complementary operations in Belgium and France. In Belgium the cells twice attacked the Belgian network of NATO oil pipelines (the Central Europe Pipeline System), dynamiting the security stations of Petegem and Huissignies, while in France a group of internationalist communists struck the CEOA (Central Europe Operating Agency), the general headquarters of the CEPS, located at 11 Avenue General Pershing (!!!) in Versailles.

For the Fighting Communist Cells, these actions marked the close of the 'Pierre Akkerman Campaign against bourgeois militarism and petty bourgeois pacifism.' This third campaign was begun on 19 October 1985 with two attacks against a military recruiting office and pacifist stupidity, in the form of our most recent operations against the Motorola Corporation and the Bank of America.

The cells and the revolutionary militants in France consider that the offensive begun on 6 December was an expression of the progress made by proletarian internationalism within the communist movement. The 'Pierre Akkerman Campaign' ended with a great victory for the anti-war movement in Belgium. It was a continuation of the 'First October Anti-Imperialist Campaign' (1984). Above all it testified to the great political and organizational progress that had been made.

Politically, it constituted a central criticism of *petit-bourgeois* pacifism, and it thereby had immediate, tactical value. Organizationally, it demonstrated in practice the progress made by the guerrillas. The internationalist action found its proper place in this effort, in the sense that one of the most hateful areas of pacifism is nationalism. For the hundreds of thousands of men and women threatened in Europe by the warlike projects of imperialism and who reject this sinister future, this campaign therefore ended with what was certainly a minimum step but which was an indication of a victorious future in the form of proletarian internationalism.

We have chosen to time our joint operations immediately following the 'Geneva Summit', where the two leaders of the principal imperialist systems have reached a private understanding about the future of the world. They presented themselves – and were praised – as apostles of peace, whereas they have unceasingly brought war and misery to the four corners of the planet. At the summit meeting they considered the question of now bringing war to Europe.

Whereas the wonderful promises of the period after the Second World War and, later on, the theme of 'peaceful co-existence' seemed to offer us a radiant future of eternal economic and social progress and a peaceful universe ruled over by the UN or some other kind of nonsense, the European people must recognize that 45 years after having subjected the world to a baptism of fire and blood, and

after these same 45 years of unending war against the peoples of the Third World, imperialism is dragging us into the most serious economic crisis in history. It is leading us into 'restructuring', that is, super exploitation or unemployment, into restrictions and ceaselessly growing misery, with a new war as the last event!

In this situation two tendencies stand out and are becoming more pronounced.

The first involves the imperialist bourgeoisie and its lackeys in the various governments who have set foot in a deliberate way on the path leading to war, on neo-colonial expedition in Africa or in the Americas, in the race for conventional or atomic super weapons, in economic 'restructuring'. These are reflections of competition and increasingly sharp tensions within the imperialist camp (between East and West, between Europe and the United States, and between Europe and the USSR), which are setting the people and the workers against their class brothers in other countries in the framework of economic conflicts while they await being forced to confront each other on the battlefield!

The second tendency involves the world of the workers. This is the world of all of the exploited men and women, the world of the revolutionaries, the world of the free men and women of the entire world who say: we have had enough of capitalism, enough of imperialism, enough exploitation of our work and of our lives, enough misery, enough war against the peoples of the world!

This tendency, which is also our own, is today to be found in a full process of development, a full reflection of our struggle, here in the cities. There are many workers who are plunged into perplexity in the face of this period of upheaval where, without any prior warning, the bourgeoisie has struck them with full force, where the recipe of trade union and reformist struggle has revealed its conciliatory function in the service of the bosses, where strikes, however heroic they may be, systematically end in failure and the victory of the bosses or the state. Where so-called 'Workers' Parties' are revealed, by their insignificant participation in governments, as the zealous lackeys of multinational capitalism. Where the masses in large numbers refuse to become involved in essential questions (as, for example, the millions of signatures against the deployment of missiles in the Netherlands) but this leads nowhere.

This situation has been experienced by all of the working class in all of the European countries. This is the situation which the communist advanced guards in these same countries have had to take into consideration to provide answers to it. Although even today it is the lack of an historical, revolutionary and up-to-date strategy that the advanced guards of the workers suffer from most profoundly, it is the result of all of these questions, sometimes painful ones, of all of our previous failures, of all of our disillusionment, or all of our questions, and above all, as a result of the richness of the experience of victories and of defeats, that little by little and progressively the elements of our future are becoming clear.

The revolutionaries and the fighting workers draw on these elements in the history of their class and in the lessons drawn from all of their struggles. They confront them in their demands and in present circumstances. They project them into the future which remains to be won. The cause of the proletariat and the formidable weapon of Marxism-Leninism, which decades of revisionism and of rotten reformism have called outmoded, utopian and even harmful, demand that

we fight for the self-organization of the working class as a class by itself, totally breaking with bourgeois institutions as the only possibility for the workers of the world to defend their interests, whether in the immediate future or over the long term.

Realizing that the state is the state of the capitalists, that the bourgeois parties which are associated with it, at the orders of company boards of directors, hold full power in our countries and can only be completely unaware of the slightest interests of the workers, we can see that this evidence must be accepted. This gives this analysis all of its sense of direction. We conclude that the proletariat must seize power, without sharing it with anyone. That is, it must overturn the bourgeois state and create a socialist workers' state.

Therefore, realizing that, having exhausted in vain all of the old forms of struggle, from voting in elections to trade union strikes, including occupations of factories and demonstrations which can no longer change anything, it is essential for the workers of the world to learn from these defeats and develop a new strategy for the struggle, adequate for the situation and prepared on the assumption of a fully antagonistic relationship with the bourgeoisie.

Generating a new strategy for the struggle means nothing less than again grasping, with confidence and care, the living thought of Marxism and of historical and dialectical materialism to direct our struggle! It is through such an understanding that the working class will find the answers to its class dynamic: building the Fighting Communist Party of the proletariat in the fire of the class struggle, establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat by the violent conquest of power, destroying the system of capitalist production and building socialism! Those are the slogans which are again emerging from the revolutionary advanced guards of the working masses in the old continent of Europe, which is now in a state of crisis.

Because even if Europe is not as homogeneous an entity as simplistic internationalism imagines it to be, that is, although national rivalries and the history of the respective struggles of the workers specifically characterize each European nation, the political, ideological and strategic crisis of the revolutionary movement may be found everywhere with the same overall dimensions. Therefore, these factors require the same pace of progress.

It is on the basis of this generalized contradiction within the class struggle that we may explain the renaissance of the revolutionary communist movement in more and more countries in imperialist centers. After decades of revisionism, opportunism and reformism, Marxism-Leninism continues to impose itself within the organizations of the revolutionary guerrilla movement. Therefore, this reaffirms proletarian internationalism as the supreme form of the communist conscience.

That is how we may explain the unity of the Fighting Communist Cells and a group of internationalist communists in France in a joint offensive against NATO.

That is what demonstrates the ineptness and spitefulness of the comments expressed everywhere regarding the 'Euroterrorist hydra'. The joint political offensive and daily practice have been imposed and built on the single foundation of our common communist identity, on the determined will of the internationalist communists to carry on the class war, wherever they may be found, in order to ensure the progress of the revolutionary forces.

Therefore, in this view of things, this does not mean that the Fighting Communist Cells or others are committed in a voluntary way to cross national frontiers! On the contrary, this involves paying attention to the objective development of Marxist-Leninist leadership everywhere in the world and beginning an internationalist dialectic between the advanced guards who have emerged from this development. This is proletarian internationalism. The time has come for the reconstitution of the revolutionary movement around the fundamental, historical principles of Marxism-Leninism, renewing its contacts with its history and its legacy, and confronting the future as conquerors. The time has come for this everywhere!

The attacks made on 6 December are the first evidence of this situation and reveal the decision by the revolutionaries to move in this direction.

'EITHER THERE WILL BE COMMUNISM FOR EVERYONE OR THERE WILL BE NO COMMUNISM FOR ANYONE.'

At this time this is evident for several reasons: in the economic area first of all, because there is such interdependency between all of the countries of the world that isolating a country is impossible to achieve at present.

- Then in the military area, when we see that each revolutionary surge in the world implies an immediate reaction by the special forces of the imperialist countries (such as the joint intervention of French and Belgian parachutists in Kolwezi [Zaire]), that these forces have been rapidly expanded in the last few years, and that the division of the world was decided on in Geneva.
- In the political area as well, by the tragic light of the complete re-establishment of the system of capitalist production in the USSR and in the People's Republic of China, we must fight against the historical deviations of the themes of 'socialism in one country' or some other 'fatherland of socialism'.

Internationalism is inherent in the revolutionary process, in the sense that every particular step forward influences the overall contradiction (the balance of forces between the world proletariat and the imperialist bourgeoisie) and that the political, ideological and no doubt military unity of the organized revolutionary forces will finally defeat an enemy which is necessarily unified as the dominant class.

Let us also add to all of these factors the important aspect of communist subjectivity, which expresses itself through the spirit of internationalism in the hearts of the workers. In this sense it is the standard-bearer of fraternity among the oppressed peoples. It is the symbol of class identity in the hopes that are shared and in the joint struggle carried on.

We claim the subjectivity of our class identity, and we nevertheless fight as hard against subjectivism. This is a curse which seriously infects certain struggle movements in Europe. From the time of their first appearance in the 1970s guerrilla movements in the cities have been marked, to varying degrees, by this deviation. Today subjectivism and its developments: idealism, anarchism and its corollaries - opportunism and radical-reformism - still have an effect on too many struggle movements. At a time when a strong social explosion is imminent, we must fight against these deviations and put an end to them.

To conclude this communiqué, we will now speak of the particular circumstances that have led us to choose this moment to carry out our first operation, which raises the question of internationalism.

Broadly presented as the summit of peace, the conclusion which the peoples of the world can draw from the Geneva Summit meeting is very clear. The tendency towards war is strengthening and accelerating, in the same way that the good words of 'peace' by Reagan and Gorbachev are an integral part of this process.

They are preparing and conditioning the peoples of the world to the idea of war, a concept which the imperialist bourgeoisie had removed from their cities at a time when peace in those areas was necessary for the export of conflict to the Third World. During the process of decolonization, of neo-colonial operations aimed at reconquering former colonial territories, of national liberation struggles and the maintenance of an imperialist order, of rivalries between imperialist powers through the medium of local forces operating on their behalf, etc. Today the people must again be brought to realize that war is possible, whereas 40 years ago an effort was made to shelter and exploit them in the interests of 'peaceful co-existence'. It is in this sense that the Geneva Summit has brought the people of the world to accept the logic of the fire and blood of imperialism. This peace summit was transformed into the 'summit of the last chance', and its failure clearly underlies the brutal growth of the threat of war.

However, this is not intended only to make war inevitable and historically logical in the eyes of the masses or to have it accepted as something which is unavoidable. It is also needed to mobilize the masses in support of the criminal programs of imperialism. The Geneva Summit meeting also pursues this objective. For each of the imperialist leaders it is necessary to present himself as the 'defender of peace', the 'defender of the free world', and, in the eyes of their respective public opinions, assume responsibility for the foreseeable failure of what resembles an episode in a gangster movie, written by competing imperialist systems. On the one hand, there is 'the future of socialism against imperialist warmongering'. On the other, there is 'democracy against Soviet totalitarianism'!

The Geneva Summit was only an infamous manoeuvre by the imperialists. No one expected them to reduce their armaments, and neither of the parties intended to resolve anything at all. The object was to take a major step towards war by mobilizing the masses behind their bourgeoisie.

Revolutionaries must fight against imperialist intrigues. They must denounce and attack the sordid plans of the bourgeois political, financial and military general staffs. The Geneva Summit must be attacked before the court of public opinion. In the West, the accused is the defense of 'democracy'. In the East, the accused is the defense of 'socialism'. The principal defendant is world imperialism, which is responsible for provoking crises and war!

Let us strengthen the revolutionary struggle of our class. Let us unite across our frontiers, because for us communists there is only one border: that which separates the decaying world of the exploiters and that of the exploited! Let us follow in that regard the heroic example of Pierre Akkerman who, as a true communist militant, made the struggle of our Spanish class brothers against fascism, militarism and reaction his own struggle!

PROLETARIANS OF ALL COUNTRIES UNITE!

AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR, CIVIL WAR!

FORWARD TOWARDS THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE STRENGTHENING OF
THE PROLETARIAN FIGHTING COMMUNIST ORGANIZATION EVERYWHERE
IN THE WORLD!

LONG LIVE PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM!

FORWARD TOWARDS THE COMMUNIST REVOLUTION!

ALL POWER TO THE WORKERS!

Fighting Communist Cells for the Construction of the
Fighting Organization of the Proletariat
A group of internationalist communists in France
Brussels, 6 December 1985

Owing to a problem that has arisen, the operation being prepared against the
CEPS in Huissignies did not take place this morning.



8 | Red Brigades

Original Language (Italian): Brigate Rosse

The Red Brigades (RB) was a Marxist-Leninist, urban terrorist group that operated in Italy from 1970 to 1988. During the 1970s it was the largest, most active and most lethal of all the European 'fighting communist organizations'. Like these other groups, the RB's goal was to overthrow the 'bourgeois, capitalist, imperialist state' and replace it with a proletarian dictatorship. In its prime (1976-79), the RB had more than 600 full-time terrorists who were organized in city columns (Rome, Genoa, Milan, Turin, and Naples), which in turn were subdivided into 'brigades' and three to five member 'cells'. The RB evolved through four leadership or 'generational' changes, the last having ended in 1988. It also suffered several organizational schisms due to ideological disagreements. The most serious took place in late 1984 when the group split into two factions: the Fighting Communist Party (RB/FCP) and the Union of Fighting Communists (RB/UCC). The RB/FCP was the mainline, militarist faction which believed that the armed struggle must be conducted by a revolutionary vanguard. This faction minimized the importance of political action from the grass-roots level. The RB/UCC was known as the 'movementalist' offshoot of the mainline RB which maintained that the armed struggle should be conducted by a revolutionary vanguard in conjunction with an active, politicized proletariat.

TACTICS

The RB, and later the RB/FCP and RB/UCC, carried out mostly kneecappings, assassinations and kidnappings. Unlike most of the other European 'fighting communist organizations', bombings were not a preferred tactic of the RB. From 1970 to 1988, the Red Brigades were responsible for some 75 assassinations, 115 attempted assassinations and 17 political kidnappings in Italy. RB targets consisted primarily of magistrates, prison officials, law-enforcement personnel, government officials, politicians, factory managers, journalists and businessmen. The RB's

most notorious attacks were the 1979 kidnapping and subsequent murder of the former Italian Prime Minister Aldo Moro and the 1981 kidnapping of US Army General James Dozier. The 'offensive' capability of the RB/FCP and RB/UCC was severely crippled during 1987-88 by police arrests of their militants in Italy, Spain and France. At present, the remnants of the RB are engaged in extensive 'self-criticism' and what they call a 'strategic retreat' or an ideological debate on the future direction of the 'fighting communist organization' in Italy.

TERRORIST LITERATURE

The Red Brigades have produced ideological tracts (called 'strategic resolutions'), attack communiqués, and several underground journals and newsletters. RB attack communiqués and strategic resolutions were widely distributed throughout Italy and sent to leftist publications in other European countries. The RB was probably the most prolific producer of terrorist literature of all the European fighting communist organizations. The group did not claim credit for terrorist attacks which it did not carry out.

SELECTED CHRONOLOGY OF RED BRIGADES TERRORIST INCIDENTS

- 1974
18 April – Genoa: Kidnapped Mario Sossi, the Assistant State Attorney, and then released him 34 days later.
- 1976
8 June – Genoa: Assassinated Francesco Coco, the State Attorney, and two members of his security detail.
- 1977
16 November – Turin: Assassinated Carlo Casalegno, the Deputy Editor of *La Stampa*.
- 1978
16 March – Rome: Kidnapped Aldo Moro, former Italian Prime Minister and current President of the ruling Christian Democrat Party, and killed his five-man security detail. Moro was held for 55 days and then 'executed'.
- 1980
19 May – Naples: Assassinated Pino Amato, a Christian Democrat regional councillor for Naples.

- 12 December - Rome: Kidnapped Giovanni D'Urso, Supreme Court Magistrate. Released him on 15 January 1981.
- 1981
- 27 April - Naples: Kidnapped Ciro Cirillo, a Christian Democrat regional councillor for Naples, and killed his two-man security detail. Held for a ransom of \$1.2 million. Released on 24 July.
- 20 May - Venice: Kidnapped Giuseppe Taliercio, a managing director of the Montedison Corporation. Killed 47 days later.
- 1984
- 15 February - Rome: Assassinated Leamon Hunt, a US Foreign Service officer who was the Director General of the Multinational Force and Observers in the Sinai.
- 1985
- 27 March - Rome: The RB/FCP assassinated Enzo Tarantelli, a University of Rome economics professor.
- 1986
- 10 February - Florence: The RB/FCP assassinated Lando Conti, a former mayor of Florence.
- 21 February - Rome: The RB/UCC attempted to assassinate Antonio Da Empoli, an economic adviser to the Prime Minister of Italy.
- 1987
- 14 February - Rome: The RB/FCP robbed a postal van of over \$800,000. Two policeman were killed during the attack.
- 20 March - Rome: The RB/UCC assassinated General Lucio Glogieri, who was responsible for weapons procurement for the Italian Air Force.
- 1988
- 16 April - Forli: The RB/FCP assassinated Roberto Ruffini, an Italian State Senator. This was the last 'offensive' operation carried out by any Red Brigade terrorist element.

Communiqué on the Assassination of Leamon Hunt, Director General of the Multinational Observer Force in the Sinai, in Rome on 15 February 1984

On 15 February 1984, an armed unit of our organization executed Mr Leamon Hunt, the director-general of the 'Multinational Observation Force' in the Sinai, set up to safeguard the Camp David Agreement made between Egypt and Israel under the direct control of the USA.

This pig was able to boast of long 'experience' in that dirty work that the Yankee imperialists carry on daily all over the world. His 'curriculum vitae' provides eloquent testimony of this: from Jerusalem to Turkey, from Ceylon to Ethiopia, from Costa Rica to Lebanon, he got as far as being appointed deputy to Kissinger in 1974.

In 1976 he was in Beirut, and thus busied himself particularly with Middle East problems, finally being appointed as director-general of a Western military force directly organized and financed by the USA.

It is precisely these 'diligent officials', unleashed throughout the world to organize the many iniquities that US imperialism commits to the detriment of peoples who are struggling for real self-determination and independence. It is these people who are behind the worst massacres perpetrated by imperialism, from Tel El-Zaatar to Sabra and Shatila, to the shots in New Jersey. It is an honor for our organization to have put an end to the miserable existence of this filthy servant of imperialism and at the same time it is a duty towards the INTERNATIONAL revolutionary movement.

Why did we strike down Leamon Hunt? What is the function and the significance of the 'Multinational Observation Force' (MOF)? The function of this force, of which an Italian contingent is also, with good reason, a part, is to safeguard the USA's interests in the Middle East by means of an agreement between Egypt and Israel that is to the detriment of the Palestinian people and is sustained by billions of dollars. The political significance is of considerable importance in the development of international relations towards an outbreak of war between the two 'blocs', insofar as it formally ratifies, on the one hand, general Western interests and influences by means of apparently legal international structures; on the other hand, it sets a precedent for a peculiar practice, which has already been repeated by the formation of a second multinational force, this time in Lebanon, outside of the UN, and clearly implies a continuation of this to the same extent as in Central America.

Comrades, proletarians, the recent development of international relations shows unequivocally that the major imperialist powers are heading for a military conflict. Nations all over the world are party to a threatening rearmament race, nuclear and conventional, which the shameless cynicism of the bourgeois govern-

ments wants to justify with motives of defense and security. Military expenditures are obviously increasing in every country, weighing heavily on the living conditions of the masses: as if this were not enough, it is the condemned people themselves who must pay the price of their own punishment: the growing international tension is shown with increasing frequency in the so-called 'regional conflicts', where, from time to time, contradictions concentrate and explode violently, those contradictions which, typical of a regional dispute, fit into a general framework characterized by the deeply rooted opposition between the two major imperialist blocs.

In this scenario, which traditionally precedes the outbreak of war between the imperialists, the hypocrisy of the bourgeoisie and its governments knows no bounds: each administration complains of the aggressive nature of the other, each 'bloc', while professing pacifism and good will regarding the problem of disarmament, follows its own line in foreign policy. But in reality things are quite different: the profound economic crisis that envelops the entire capitalist world is causing the competition between the large monopolist and financial groups and, indirectly, also between the states, to increase excessively, and the need for enlarged markets and rigid control is becoming urgent... for the purpose of a general relaunching of capitalist production. A military conflict between the imperialists presents itself as the obligatory solution, the objective way out of the present crisis, which, in substance, has been going on since the beginning of the 1970s and has caused disputes about the very forms of accumulation assumed by capital on an international scale in the period since the Second World War to the present. In short, the bourgeoisie cannot avoid war, since their very social system engenders its basic causes.

The fact that things are this way can be seen by directing one's attention to the progressive power of the UN in the face of the numerous hotbeds of war and the growth of international tension all over the world. This organization, which is supposed to represent the general will of the governments of its member-countries to refrain from war as a means of resolving international conflicts, looked on powerless, almost acquiescent, at the Falklands War, the Israeli aggression in Lebanon, the Yankee occupation of Grenada. This organization stands around idly, at the most issuing 'resolutions of condemnation', skillfully negotiated by brazen-faced persons, in response to the continuing provocations of the Reagan administration in the Nicaragua conflict, to the dirty, disgusting work of the South African racists against Angola and Mozambique, to the meddlings of the socialist Mitterrand in Chad and to the extended Soviet occupation of Afghanistan.

The absolute and grotesque impotence of the United Nations is an extremely eloquent indication of the deterioration of international relations, reminding us of the cadaver of the 'League of Nations' that was trampled down by Monaco, by the Anglo-French appeasement and finally squashed by the Nazi-Fascist heel. You could say that the well-known proverb about history repeating itself gains relevance: the first time was a tragedy, the second time was a farce. The reasons which are at the foundation of the establishment of the MOF for the Sinai are a concrete example of how the general tendency just mentioned manifests itself;

here we can see, in a way which is significant and which closely affects the Italian proletariat also, how the imperialist powers calmly ignore the UN when their interests are at stake and when it is a matter of dealing a decisive blow to the national and popular liberation movements which struggle against oppression and exploitation. The MOF for the Sinai is in fact a military force established outside of the UN, to guarantee the application of the '78 Camp David agreements which, as is well known, constitute a hard blow for the Palestinian cause and, more generally, for the opposition to Zionist imperialism. The disintegration of the Arab front with Sadat's betrayal by reinforcing the prestige of the Zionist entity, authorized to continue its beastly policy of annexation of the occupied territories of the West Bank and Gaza, and the general reshaping of Soviet influence in the Middle East are only some of the results obtained by the USA and by the Zionists as a consequence of Camp David: these are some of the many pieces of a larger mosaic which provide for a general re-systematization of the Middle Eastern area which will be able to assure the USA of complete control over this vital region, a control which has already been dangerously jeopardized by Soviet penetration in Afghanistan, by Shiite Iran and by the democratic-popular characteristics of the Palestinian revolution. In this sense, there is an obvious and criminal continuity between Camp David and the operation 'Peace in Galilee' of June '82; there exists a clear link between the MOF for the Sinai and the present, more famous, Multilateral Peace Force in Lebanon, both armed representatives of Western imperialism, guarantors and agents of an equilibrium which is a function of the strategic interests in the Middle East of the USA and NATO.

In spite of the impressive volume of nauseating propaganda, the position of the European governments on this matter is very clear: They are first in the race towards a solution of the Middle Eastern question which, safeguarding their relations with the moderate Arab countries, will allow the maximum exploitation of the economic (and first of all, energetic) resources in the political and strategic framework guaranteed '*manu militari*' by Zionism. How could we explain the abstention at the UN of France, Great Britain, the FRG and Italy on the matter of the convocation of the 'International Conference on the Palestinian Question', other than as tacit assent to the shameless contrary vote of the USA and Israel? Is this not criminal and Philistine support of the Zionist nefariousness? And further, how could we interpret French support of Saddam Hussein's Iraq and Germany's huge military contracts with Saudi Arabia? Finally, are France, Italy and Great Britain involved or not in military missions of a clearly imperialistic nature? The European imperialistic powers are not in fact 'neutral' in the Middle East; on the contrary, they have given evidence of great activism, in their involvement side-by-side with the American and Zionist imperialism in a general action of containment of the Soviet influence and total distortion of the democratic-popular characteristics of the Palestinian national sentiment. And the Italian government is not neutral, our bourgeoisie is not neutral, since in the course of a single year, 1982, it has participated in two military missions in the Middle East, the MOF in the Sinai and the 'peace' force in Beirut, taking care to host in Rome the headquarters of the former. It takes some nerve to declare oneself a friend of the Palestinians while contributing to guarantee the application of the Camp David accords, which allow

the forced annexation by the Zionists of the Palestinians' lands. The Italian government can fill an entire port with Palestinian children and bring them to our country for a free visit, but the international proletariat and the peoples who fight against imperialism know very well that Italian troops are standing on Lebanese soil as accomplices of the USA and of the local fascists, that mine-sweepers flying our flag are enforcing an accord based on the treason of a 'pharaoh' who has paid with his life for his ambitions. Likewise, they know that on our soil are being installed missiles with nuclear warheads, whose first objective is not Eastern Europe, but above all the young nations that are opposed to the Western imperialistic schemes. The Italian government wants to make of our country the policeman of the Mediterranean, it wants to increase its filthy international prestige by snuffing out the legitimate and progressive aspirations of the peoples liberated from colonial domination and of those who fight for [their] national liberation, but the joint struggle of the Italian proletariat with the international proletariat and the progressive peoples of the entire world will bring about the failure of this plan by making Craxi and his associates retract their intentions.

The accelerated maturation of the capitalistic crisis imposes on the bourgeois governments basic and substantive choices with respect to their overall policy. The Italian bourgeoisie, in particular, is facing a pretty clear-cut alternative: a redefinition of society in an authoritarian and militaristic sense, in order to remain within the circle of the great powers, or a gradual retreat into the circle of the so-called 'second-class' countries. The large monopolistic and financial groups have no doubts: only an aggressive foreign policy and a domestic policy along authoritarian lines are appropriate for the restructuring and the technological leap in which the Italian economy is involved and the social price of which is represented by the thousands of lay-offs, by unemployment and by the increase of exploitation in the factories. And the leading classes have already made their choices: 'Italy's new role' in NATO and in the Mediterranean theatre, from the installation of the missiles in Comiso to the military involvement in the Middle East, is the sharp answer to this question. Spadolini, head of the government at the time that the troops were sent to the Sinai and to Beirut and advocate of the missile installations, sits pompously in the Ministry of Defense of the Craxi government, almost symbolizing the warmongering continuity which animates the cabinets of the latest governmental coalitions. The news came out these past days of the approval by the Senate of military appropriations of almost a thousand billion [lire], appropriations which were made outside of the defense budget, like those for the Italian contingent in Lebanon. Even the fascists of the MSI voted in favor of the government proposal.

Comrades, proletarians, a broad mass movement has developed in our country in opposition of the warmongering choices of the Craxi government. This movement is inspired by the specific awareness of the absolute necessity of blocking the arms race and of taking the destiny of many millions of men and women out of the hands of a group of scoundrels. From this point of view, we are talking about a movement which is opposed to imperialism and which struggles to defeat the outlaw and warmongering designs of the imperialist bourgeoisie. Meanwhile, it is just and important to support this movement with all our strength

and to participate in it, since it is necessary to make it clear that only the proletariat can win the fight against the imperialist war, because only this social class can radically change the mechanisms which cause the competition between nations that leads them into war. The struggle against the imperialist war must unite now with the struggle of the working class against exploitation, lay-offs and the government's economic policy in a single and compact proletarian front, aware of the historic task which it is called to carry out at this critical juncture. We must break with the superficial inter-class viewpoint to conquer the proletarian leadership of this movement, the only leadership in a position to assure a real perspective for the aspirations of peace present in the great majority of the Italian people.

The Red Brigades for the buildup of a Fighting Communist Party are deeply committed to this task. Our organization is in the forefront of the struggle against imperialism and against the Craxi government, its representative. With this fighting political initiative, the Red Brigades place themselves at the center of the social clash which is taking place in the country, interpreting clearly and unerringly the general interests of the proletarian class. At the same time, this political initiative is a clear word, our word is the word of the revolutionary proletariat for all those who would bury revolutionary policy in the museum of antiquities, thus begging for mercy more easily at the feet of the bourgeoisie. Compared with the mobilization of the workers against the fraudulent governmental decree, bastard child of the 22 January agreement, what in the end are the whining rascals of revolutionaries in operettas? All of those are already going into the dungheap of history. It is necessary to intensify the struggle against the government in order to bring about the immediate withdrawal of the Italian troops from the Middle East, the rejection of nuclear missiles in Comiso and to get our country out of NATO. It is necessary to extend the mobilization of the masses and the vanguard in this political program, united with the working class and its struggles and under the direction of the revolutionary proletariat.

The scenario that faces the international proletariat is a very definite one: capital is preparing to make them pay the most burdensome bill that this system must periodically present to the masses that it exploits and oppresses: war. But there is a great watchword that unites all the exploited people: transform the imperialist war into proletarian revolution for communism: the accelerated progress of the capitalist crisis towards war offers the proletariat an exceptional opportunity: that of constituting a substantial step forward in the complex process of the world proletarian revolution, taking over political power in one or more capitalist countries. In particular, today the possibility of defeating the bourgeoisie in the advanced capitalist countries is at hand, thus, in this way, dealing a decisive blow to imperialism as a whole. But in order to do that, so that we are not caught unprepared by fast-moving events, it is necessary to develop the objective unity of the struggles of the proletariat throughout the world in the conscious unity of its communist vanguard. Communists from all countries must step resolutely on the road that leads to the construction of the new communist internationale, based strictly on the principles of Marxism-Leninism. Our organization is deeply convinced of this and considers it to be a fundamental and irrevocable historical objective for the international communist movement to attain. The Red Brigades

predict and encourage with every means at their disposal the active confrontation between communists of every country and place themselves, with due modesty but also with firmness of will, as reference point for this essential political process.

UNITY OF THE PROLETARIAT WITH THE PROGRESSIVIST PEOPLES IN
THE STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALISM!
LET US STEP UP AND ORGANIZE THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE
GOVERNMENT'S WARMONGERING AND ANTI-PROLETARIAN POLICY.
LET US EXTEND THE MOBILIZATION OF THE MASSES AND THE
VANGUARD TO THESE WATCHWORDS:
IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL OF ITALIAN TROOPS FROM THE MIDDLE
EAST!
NO TO THE MISSILES AT COMISO AND TO REARMAMENT!
GET ITALY OUT OF NATO!

For communism
Red Brigades
For the Fighting Communist Party
February '84

Communiqué on the Assassination of Ezio Tarantelli, a Rome University Economics Professor, in Rome on 27 March 1985

On 27 March 1985 an armed nucleus of our organization executed Ezio Tarantelli, one of the persons most responsible for the attack against workers' wages and against the political and material gains of the proletariat in our country.

Who was Ezio Tarantelli? The man whom the bourgeoisie define, with great imagination, as 'a professor' and a 'student' of problems of industrial relations was in reality one of the most authoritative technical-political exponents in the service of large capital, who 'work' on the attempt to face the economic crisis of the bourgeoisie in one of its fundamental social aspects: that is, the institutional regulation of the antagonistic relationship between the classes regarding the conditions and mechanisms of the sale of the labor force, hence the juridical-legislative ratification of the most general relations of force between working class and employers, from the standpoint of bourgeoisie interests.

It is not by chance that the 'professor' comes from that international den of anti-proletarian politicians and imperialist oppression which is MIT, one of the world-level centers of economic and financial policy of large multinational capital, an operational nucleus responsible at the highest levels both for the exploitation of the proletariat in the countries of advanced capitalism and for the robbery, starvation and oppression of three-quarters of the world's population by Western imperialism. The 'brilliant professor' is the one who learned the art and techniques of capitalist exploitation, and constantly returned there to bring himself up to date, in case anything had escaped him.

The leading economic expert of the CISL [Italian Confederation of Labor Unions], president of the Institute of Studies of Labor Economics, and a former adviser to the Bank of Italy, he was the inventor of the most important stages which have marked the economic policy of the last few governments, from the reform of the labor market (roll call, mobility, part-time, etc.) the reform of wages (freezing, pre-setting COLA trigger points, wage diversification coupled to productivity), to the more general reform of centralized contracting between government, Confindustria and the labor unions, according to the neocorporative model, which has in fact proven to be the most effective for the bourgeoisie in pursuing the drastic reduction of the overall influence of the working class. The reactionary 'social pact' with its revolting 'political trade-offs' redefines the role of the labor union, which, in some of its sectors especially, is the direct promoter of it, now considering its industrial activity as marginal and giving priority to direct sharing in the preparation and implementation of the restructuring policies.

The economic crisis which has been plaguing the Western capitalist system for more than a decade on the one hand accentuates the intermonopolistic competi-

tion and on the other hand requires the direct attack against the working class, in the attempt to force it to submit to the anti-crisis measures. The restructuring of the production apparatus aimed at lowering the costs per unit of product only accentuates the contradictions in the bourgeois camp and exacerbates the conditions of competition. All the countermeasures put forward only make clear once again the impossibility for the bourgeoisie to resolve its crisis except through a single solution: imperialist war; that is, destruction of excess and obsolete means of production, goods, labor force and capital, as part of a greater centralization and concentration of capital and a new world order dictated by the strongest multinational monopolies. This design is confronted with a formidable obstacle, represented by the antagonism of the working class towards being forced to share in this 'new' social contract in support of the interests of the bourgeoisie to resolve its crisis.

Therefore, the political defeat of the proletariat is, for the bourgeoisie, a vital objective and one of primary importance.

Economically, this objective is expressed in the preparation and implementation of a project for a neocorporative contract, which characterizes the most general redefinition of social relations in a reactionary direction. The restructuring of industrial relations and the very role of the labor unions and the parties goes in the direction of redefining the functions of the institutional representations of the proletariat for the declared purpose of pacifying the social clash at the expense of the working class.

The anti-proletarian offensive which has thrown the class movement objectively back onto the defensive should be placed in this framework. The objective of the bourgeoisie is the fragmentation of the proletarian front in a babel of conflicting micro-interests which, if the way were cleared of resistances, would lead to a historic defeat of the class and to a deadening pacification of the internal front, an ideal situation for confronting the deadlines of the dominant tendency toward imperialist war.

The contribution made to the preparation and execution of this policy by the 'professor' is further explained by the very short deadlines within which he was 'working': the proposal to reduce work hours, a CISL stalking-horse in these last few months. The most obvious demonstration of the anti-proletarian, demagogic and mystifying spirit – in perfect harmony with the plans of Confindustria – lies in the fact that this reduction is aimed at nothing other than the increase of productivity through the unrestrained introduction of flexibility, mobility, part-time work and the greater utilization of overtime work, according to the needs of the enterprises. Rather than a struggle against unemployment, it is a question of a smokescreen to prevent social tensions from becoming aggravated in any way, at the same time promoting the best utilization of the labor force according to capitalist production requirements.

On their side, the revisionist labor union and party are playing, within this framework, the role of an anti-subversive wall in the tottering bourgeois building, a role claimed openly by the PCI [Italian Communist Party] and by Lama, presenting it as a bargaining chip. This was clearly seen in the political change during the episode of the decree on taxation, a veritable fig leaf to 'cover' the

recent attacks on workers' wages and, even more, in the episode connected with the obstructionism against the decree on wage cuts. On these occasions, the PCI can be seen in the role of peerless controller of the proletarian struggles, alternating the brake of street action with the demagogic accelerator of parliamentary opposition, all on a field of institutional compatibility. The game of raising the referendum, which is also legal tender, a referendum which is the most obvious manifestation of the ambiguities demonstrated by a bourgeois party like the PCI, which tramples on the interests of the workers.

Our political-military initiative has once again clarified the real nature of the controversy between the parties on these questions and, especially, the real interests which are at the basis of the various proposals. The PCI has once again used the workers' struggle for its wretched calculations of power, clumsily running through a minefield and stumbling precisely against the most fearful obstacle to the realization of its programs to contain the class antagonism: the revolutionary activity of the Red Brigades. In the face of the clarity and central position of the objective pursued by our organization, the last veils of mystification – both of the government and of the party of Natta – have fallen, and the problem, poorly concealed until today, of the search for a political agreement is revealed for what it is: to avoid the unforeseeable reply of the class to the hardening of the social conflict through the 'pacifying' solution of a new general agreement, once again at the expense of the material and political interests of the proletariat, the umpteenth political trade-off between PCI and government, a further step toward the defeat of the class.

However, the difficulty which the development of this project is encountering is the best demonstration that the political defeat of the proletariat in our country is still an illusion – an illusion certainly not without real possibilities, but made ever weaker by the enormous struggle potential and combativeness of the working class against the internal and international policies of the government. The character of resistance which the struggles have inevitably assumed represents a first indispensable motive for the re-establishment of the proletarian organization fabric, which has been expressed embryonically in the clearest manner by the self-convocation of the assemblies of the factory councils.

However, if everything remained anchored in time to the character of pure and simple resistance in defense of positions under attack, the class would find itself trapped in a blind alley at the end of which there would be a defeat of historic dimension.

Our task as a communist organization is to represent the general interests of the proletariat, guiding it in the struggle against the reactionary regimentation of society and against the preparations for imperialist war. Carrying out this task and working to deepen the political crisis of the bourgeoisie, we give to the class the materialization of our strategic proposal: the Armed Struggle for Communism, to transform the imperialist war into a class war for the conquest of political power and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Red Brigades call on the communists to close ranks around the principal tasks which the class collision makes evident: to build the proletarian and revolutionary offensive against restructuring and against imperialist war, and to

struggle on the revolutionary political terrain for the modification of the relations of force in favor of the proletariat – on the basis of political-military action against the anti-proletarian and reactionary policies of social pacification and against the warmongering policies of the Western imperialist bourgeoisie.

The crisis of the capitalist method of production is creating conditions favorable to the proletarian struggle in all the Western countries. It is also creating the foundations for identifying the common enemy consisting of the restructuring policies of the imperialist bourgeoisie, implemented everywhere through the attack on the living conditions of the proletariat and the growing militarization and rearmament of all countries, due to the preparations for war. These conditions generate ever more acute social contradictions, placing at the center the task of the communists to work on the construction of the Combatant Communist Party [PCC]. Only in that way will it be possible to pursue the objective of the revolutionary direction of the social clash, exacerbated by the anti-crisis measures adopted by all the Western bourgeoisie and demonstrated by cycles of antagonistic struggles which – on various levels – are shaking all Europe.

The objective unity of the interests of the international proletariat and the motives of alliance between it and the struggle of the progressive peoples against imperialist oppression are the vital substance of the necessary internationalist character of the proletarian revolution. The struggle against Western imperialism is therefore a characterization common to all revolutionary forces, regardless of the objectives for the national liberation or the proletarian conquest of political power. For these reasons, the Red Brigades have made the militant anti-imperialist struggle an indispensable point of their program, a constant of their own political thrust and of their own combatant practice, as demonstrated by the capture of General Dozier and the execution of the 'diplomat' Hunt. These campaigns against NATO have been conceived as a fundamental program point for the revolutionary process in our country, because the weakening and defeat of imperialism in the political-geographic area in which Italy is located is one of the conditions which contribute to the success of our revolution. In this way, the Red Brigades intend to work on the strengthening and consolidation of the Front of Struggle against Western imperialism, which has recently found renewed vigor and unified strength, demonstrated by the difficulties and defeats which the imperialist undertakings are encountering throughout the world, from Grenada to Beirut to Nicaragua, and in the united campaign against NATO by the guerrilla fighters in Europe, in close dialectic with the exceptional mass mobilization against the American missiles in the European cities.

ATTACK AND DEFEAT THE CRAXI-CARNITI-CONFINDUSTRIA COALITION,
THE MAIN POLITICAL AXIS OF THE REACTIONARY PLAN FOR A
NEOCORPORATIVE SOCIAL CONTRACT!

STRENGTHEN AND CONSOLIDATE THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST FIGHTING
FRONT!

TRANSFORM THE IMPERIALIST WAR INTO A CLASS WAR FOR THE

CONQUEST OF POLITICAL POWER AND THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE
PROLETARIAT!

For Communism – Red Brigades for the construction
of the Combatant Communist Party.
March 1985

UCC Communiqué on the Attempted Assassination of Antonio Da Empoli, an Economics Adviser to the Prime Minister's Office, in Rome on 21 February 1986

On Friday, 21 February, an armed group of our organization attacked and crippled Antonio Da Empoli, the director of the 'Office for Economic Affairs' at Palazzo Chigi [the Prime Minister's office]. In his capacity as co-ordinator of the staff of economic advisers to Craxi, Antonio Da Empoli has been playing an essential role in the formulation of the finance law, a law which constitutes one of the most important instruments of the economic policy of the bourgeois government.

Our strike group had a very precise mission: to cripple, but not kill, Antonio Da Empoli (which has been accomplished); to let the miserable pig who escorted him live (this is confirmed by the fact that they shot at the tires and not the driver). In the course of the operation, owing to the reaction of the Special Services agent, Wilma Monaco ('Roberta'), was killed. She was a leader of our organization, a dedicated communist, who had been committed for years to the armed struggle and the Italian class movement.

The Union of Fighting Communists first of all pays its respects to its comrade who fell fighting for communism, and invites the entire revolutionary proletariat to meditate on the meaning of 'Roberta's sacrifice.

Having said this, we proceed.

Howls, Din, and Uproar

The subaltern classes in Italy have long been used to indecorous spectacles: the political stratum of the bourgeois parties in fact puts on a new clown act every day. Only in the last few months, disputes and quarrels have kept breaking out all over the place: from foreign policy to the paternity of the flag, from religion classes to economic choices, from the Superior Judiciary Council to RAI-TV, there is evidently no rest for these men who are used to fighting, mutual kicking around and internecine strife. Craxi wounds De Mita, who in his turn stabs him in the back; Spadolini launches long-winded speeches to underline his corpulent presence, and from time to time, a modest baying arises from the Liberal and Social-Democratic side.

Is there a government in Italy? In the face of so much sovereign irresponsibility, the general incompetence of the politicians who occupy positions of power, one must ask oneself that at times. And it is true in any case that bourgeois politics in our country are most of the time reduced to palace skirmishes, and it is well known that the working classes cannot get anything out of this hell-hole, this eternal merry-go-round, and are often alienated.

The prevalent feeling is one of struggling with a big, useless mess, an irritating bustle which cannot be reduced to any kind of order: as we said before, howls, din, and uproar ...

The Facts

It cannot be denied that when all is said and done, it remains really difficult not to get lost in the panorama of the Italian parties: they change position so often, they fight and make up with such speed, they are so clearly devoid of any direction, that even the most experienced political observer is confused. The proletariat must therefore stick to the facts, the bare and crude facts, the stubborn facts which always tell more than any proclamation, any declaration of intent hawked by the orator of the day. And the facts really speak clearly: they speak so clearly as to dissolve in an instant the accustomed picture of the impenetrable racket of the Italian bourgeois political system. Certainly they are inept bunglers: but in power. No doubt they are ignorant ruffians: but they have clear ideas on how to get things done.

There is a government: two and a half years of the Craxi government, two and a half years of 'stability' guaranteed by the 'strong man', and this government has presented the working class with three finance laws, one worse than the other, a 'fraud decree' (the one of February 1984) cutting workers' wages, various *ad hoc* devaluations favoring the large industrial groups and penalizing the workers' buying power, an industrial policy which, although devoid of any coherence, has certainly allowed a reduction in employment and the closing of plants (our Da Empoli knows something about that), American missiles on our territory, systematic acquiescence in Reagan's warmongering policies and the reinforcement of Italy's reactionary role in the Mediterranean. But that is not enough: '*dulcis in fundo*', Craxi and company are secretly preparing to decide on the 'Star Wars' of the American Strangeloves. One need not be a prophet to predict that after Sigonella there will be precious little disagreement with the Pentagon 'boys': our third-rate Foster Dulles, that ass Spadolini, will watch carefully over the Bel Paese's solid collocation in the 'Atlantic' camp.

As ridiculous and incompetent as it may be, the Italian political class has consequently espoused *en bloc* a pretty direct governmental direction, an essentially reactionary orientation with regard to both economic policy and the field of foreign policy. So that one clearly becomes aware of a secret effort towards the restoration of an authoritarian and conservative system which will fatally threaten many of the achievements of the labor movement, will involve Italy in an aggressive and imperialist foreign policy, and substantially restrict the already very limited possibilities of the social opposition.

Why

The reasons are simple in their own way. Capitalism is finding itself in a crisis and is searching for a new 'identity': for some time already, the conditions have irremediably deteriorated under which the accumulation of wealth had celebrated its greatest triumphs in the second post-war era; 'recoveries' and 'positive

outlooks' have admittedly had less than a minimal effect on the substantial homogeneity of a historical period which is profoundly characterized by recession, difficulties in the marketplace and over-accumulation of capital.

Now the search is on for a solution. But the solution of capitalism is based on aggressiveness, on the emphasis on competition by monopolies, on an enormous change in the labor structure, on an overall change in the configuration of the productive order, the cost of which is represented by the loss of thousands and thousands of jobs.

Today, the global balances are being negotiated. But the bargaining of the imperialist countries takes place on the basis of chauvinism, power politics, systematic and continuous aggression at the expense of the young nations which are pursuing their development along non-capitalist lines. Reagan's America is leading the way, but we must not think that nations like France, Germany, Great Britain and Italy are playing the role of simple extras: from Lebanon to Chad, from the Falklands to the Horn of Africa, the imperialist nature of European foreign policy is quite evident even to the totally uninitiated observer.

Such is the reality of the crisis of capitalism: the large financial and monopolistic circles, in need of orders and markets, are becoming the best allies of the military castes; the political classes are becoming progressively susceptible to the lure of authority and are pursuing conservative designs. In general, there is a symptomatic climate of restoration spreading through the land, where values which had previously been disqualified are breaking with renewed arrogance into the language and into the daily decisions of the dominant groups. Bourgeois society always remains the same: the logic of profit-making takes precedence over everything else. And in the crisis in Italy and around the world, in order to protect profits, it is necessary to lay off workers, reduce wages, and cut assistance and public services; in the crisis in Italy and all over the world, in order to make profits, one needs aggressive governments, 'punitive' expeditions against countries and nations which do not bow to the logic of capitalism, increased military budgets and even 'Star Wars'.

Are there people who would like to convince us that we have entered the era of post-industrialism? The epoch of the obsolescence of the class structure? Come on, we are not that naive. From Nicaragua to El Salvador, from the Philippines to South Africa, from Occupied Palestine to Southern Lebanon, the class struggle is burning wildly all over the world; and in our country only two years ago, the entire working class engaged in the fight to defeat the authoritarianism of the government and the bosses. Truly, bourgeois society and imperialism always remain the same: capitalism, as it produces goods, also produces the class struggle; imperialism, in exporting capital and oppression, reawakens the conscience of the people.

What is to be done

Or most of all, what must not be done. We must not trust the PCI [Italian Communist Party]; distrust this party which is not only incapable of defending the immediate and primary interests of the workers, but, what is much more, by its

explicit admission, has no intention whatsoever of attempting to achieve any real changes in today's society. What has Natta's party done to block the finance law? It has pushed the buttons at Montecitorio [Parliament] and has ensured 'constructive' opposition. What proposals does Botteghe Oscure [headquarters of the Italian Communist Party] have for the situation in Italy? The government 'of the program' which is to be constituted with the louts of the Christian Democratic Party (DC), the 'Americans' of the Republicans (PRI) and that gang of robbers that lives on Via del Corso (the Socialists). The PCI is the left wing of the bourgeoisie, the trump card held in reserve to keep the workers under control: it has now been 40 years that this party has been warming the benches of Parliament, and with every passage of time, it becomes more evident to the eyes of the masses that nothing can be changed by remaining in these fetid rooms. Therefore we must mobilize. Mobilize in every workplace, every factory and every city district against the government of the bourgeoisie, its decrees and its laws, against its conservative and authoritarian policies, both in the economic and international field. Among the dominant classes, in the circles which count in big capital, in the decision-making groups of the political parties, the winds of reaction are blowing, and there is a widespread will to recoup what they have lost in the past. The plans for institutional reform are an organic part of this tendency, precisely because they are aimed at strengthening the authority, the power and the freedom of option of the Executive *vis-à-vis* the Parliament. The approval of this finance law is thus only the latest act in a long sequence of frauds perpetrated by a government and employers who are ever more determined to humiliate the interests and aspirations of the proletariat.

We must mobilize everywhere against this tendency, and we must oppose with great determination this true and actual reactionary redefinition of Italian society. We must unify the entire proletarian movement through strikes, demonstrations, propaganda and mass agitation, and push the labor union bureaucracy and Natta's firemen against the wall; we must resist the bourgeoisie with all possible forms of struggle and thwart its authoritarian ambitions, and sink its reactionary government.

The Armed Struggle

But this struggle requires direction, the mass movement needs energetic leadership. The whole political and economic course of the last few years attests with extraordinary coherence to the nature of the change that is now taking place in Italy: the dominant classes are slowly slipping into more and more reactionary positions. Great mass movements have sprung up spontaneously to fight this tendency, demonstrating several times the latent potential for struggle of the Italian proletariat: but they need direction, a guiding hand which can help aim the mobilization towards general objectives.

This guide is the armed struggle, the armed struggle of the true communists who strenuously oppose the government of the bourgeoisie. Fighting in the first rank in the battles against the government's economic and foreign policies, in the first rank in the defense of the vital interests of the workers, in support of the

vanguard of the mass movement, the Fighting Communists do not stop at that in their pursuit of the immediate needs of the proletariat: with their energetic and coherent action they show the way to the real solution of the problems and fight with the proper means to ensure it. The armed communist struggle does not limit itself to 'talking' about how things are not working: it attacks the state and the bosses in order to weaken their structure, it cuts into the political process of the relations between the classes, it gives concrete proof to the vast masses of the proletariat that there exists a basic alternative to the swamp of parliamentarianism, to the daily exploitation, to the aggressive policies towards the oppressed peoples of the world and the young nations which are truly independent of imperialism.

This alternative is socialism, the dictatorship of the proletariat. In spite of all the efforts the PCI may waste on trying to distract the masses from this eternal aspiration, the very course of things works to the effect that the working class becomes more conscious of its historic role. The imperialist bourgeoisie with all its arrogance has nothing more to promise to millions of people than anarchy in production, insecurity, underdevelopment, war and death; the proletariat, guided by its fighting party, will put a stop to this indecent waste of human energy.

Comrades, Proletarians; for many years now, there has been an armed struggle going on in our country against the bourgeoisie and its puppet governments. This is a fight for socialism, a fight for the conquest of political power by the proletariat. Much experience has been collected, and much has been learned. Today, we must launch this fight once more and we must conduct it in a proper perspective: we must consolidate our leading role in the mass movement and work nonetheless on the expansion of the ranks of disciplined and clandestine fighting communists in all productive and social sectors.

Every advance element, every proletarian vanguard fighting daily among the masses, coherently defending their immediate as well as general interests, guiding the mobilization into those advanced forms of struggle that can be practiced by the entire movement, must nevertheless not forget his duties as a communist: it is necessary to fight for political power, for the dictatorship of the proletariat! First of all, we must organize the armed struggle, weaken the structures of the enemy! In every factory, in every city district, every workplace and proletarian sector, it is the task of the communists first and foremost to organize themselves for the battles of the vanguard, and not to remain on the level of the masses. Our organization resolutely calls into service in its ranks, which are organized and motivated by a truly Marxist point of view, all those in the vanguard of the proletariat and the working class, all advanced elements, all revolutionaries who in the present conditions are facing up to the problem of a coherent struggle for socialism. It is now the task of the true communists to relaunch the armed struggle and direct it into Marxist channels!

The Death of Comrade Wilma Monaco - 'Roberta'

Wilma Monaco - 'Roberta' - a leading figure in our organization, came from the great populous city districts which the Roman proletariat knows so well: she spent her childhood and youth in the Testaccio and Primavalle areas. When she was very

young, she was already in the frontlines of the proletarian struggle: the struggle for housing, against unemployment, for better living conditions than those which capitalism can offer the lower classes living in the metropolis. These experiences always remained a constant factor in Wilma's militancy: she had a very strong feeling for the problems of the working class, for the necessity of being able to interpret the concrete aspirations of millions of workers.

But Wilma was not only in the vanguard of the masses: she was first and foremost a fighting communist. In 1977, when she was only 19 years old, she committed herself to the armed struggle: from 1979 on, she was linked with the Red Brigades, operating under their direction. Like that of many other militants, her personal history from then on has been that of the Italian revolutionary movement, of the Red Brigades.

Wilma always understood the fundamental importance of that movement, of the Red Brigades experience: never, even in the darkest moments, did she question the choice of the armed struggle; she never preached conciliation with those who abandoned that struggle.

But at the same time, Wilma was a consistent Marxist: she fully understood the importance of scientific socialism to the class struggle, she was totally committed to relaunching the armed struggle within a just general perspective. Her contribution to the foundation of the Union of Fighting Communists was essential: rationality and determination, humanity and intransigence; she soon became a leader within our ranks.

Now, at a time when the bourgeois information services are impudently speculating on Wilma's sacrifice, at a time when they are trying to deny outright that it was law enforcement bullets that killed her, the entire revolutionary movement must meditate on the meaning of the death of this communist: with her extreme contribution, Wilma has indicated a path to take, the path of the coherent and Marxist armed struggle. May her message be heard everywhere and her sacrifice serve as an example for the new generations of revolutionaries, and her revolutionary integrity as a warrior enlighten all those in whom class consciousness is now re-awakening!

Comrades, Proletarians; Whoever dies fighting for freedom does not die in vain, for the course of history is turning inevitably towards freedom. But a communist who dies in the fulfillment of his duty is certain to be sacrificing himself even less in vain, for his party will continue the struggle inspired by the same principles, the same determination, and the same systematic approach that he had made his own.

Let the ruling classes rejoice in this death, it only reinforces our will to fight and our convictions: the memory and example of Wilma Monaco, 'Roberta', will live eternally in the years to come, hers is the honor and the respect of the entire Italian revolutionary proletariat!

NO TO THE FINANCE LAW!

DOWN WITH THE CRAXI GOVERNMENT!

HONOR TO COMRADE WILMA MONACO - 'ROBERTA' - WHO HAS FALLEN
IN THE FIGHT FOR COMMUNISM!

ONWARD WITH THE ARMED STRUGGLE FOR SOCIALISM!

February 1986

PCC Communiqué on the Armed Robbery of a Postal Van in Rome on 14 February 1987

On Saturday, 14 February 1987, an armed group of our organization conducted an expropriation action against a postal van carrying valuables. During the action, the armed escort of the van was neutralized and a service pistol was confiscated.

Expropriation is the only means for financing the revolutionary program of a fighting communist organization which is solidly in the vanguard of the class war and which pursues the strategic interests of the proletariat, that is, the conquest of political power. Expropriation is also the most logical method, since it symbolizes total expropriation by the proletariat of the means of production now in the hands of the bourgeoisie. The problem of self-financing is thus a political and strategic element in revolutionary activity, and the Red Brigades for the construction of the fighting communist party have always dealt with this question on that level. We have therefore deliberately chosen the type of action that we used, saving the lives of civilians and also saving the life of the agent who surrendered.

Our political line is gauged according to the development of this war, a class war which may be delayed, which may allow the bourgeoisie to establish the 'rules of the game' because the bourgeoisie holds a strong position and can change the rules to its own advantage. However, it cannot suppress this historic heritage of class struggle in Italy. In other words, the strategy of armed struggle and 17 years of revolutionary practice, identifying itself with the most mature examples of class independence, have determined the strategic course that is to provide a solution to the question of power.

The plans prepared to deprive the strategy for armed struggle of its political and social motivation, plans prepared by the state and by its more or less illustrious supporters of modern vintage, have to face this fact. Likewise, an additional aspect of this policy - the attempt to abuse armed struggle by making predetermined moves in order to insert oneself into the contradictions of the armed struggle - is also destined to fail, despite the efforts made by the spokesmen of the bourgeoisie, the Scalfaro-Parisi team, longtime schemers. We remind these gentlemen that these laborious statements prepared in the various dens of the bourgeoisie are only wishful thinking. The political clash between the classes cannot be planned by sitting behind a desk.

Let it be clearly understood by all those who join in the chorus singing the swan song of armed struggle that the money received as a result of the expropriation will be invested with the revolutionary strictness that we have always practiced.

Today the bourgeoisie speaks of political stability, of a peaceful country, praises its economic successes and puts the renewal of its role in the imperialist chain of command on an international level. In fact, the 'Italian factory' has carried out its most important phase of economic renewal, conforming to the large technological jump in production, the penalty being a loss in its share of the international market.

Our imperialist bourgeoisie, forced by the continuing economic crisis, and by the recessive nature of the world economy, has carried out a total revamping that, starting with production, has caused and continues to cause the restructuring of all the superstructures, from industrial relations to the rationalization of the functions of the state.

The events that have taken place and continue to take place are the result of a long socio-political struggle that at present has resulted in a step backwards for the political and material class positions. This has been brought about through a carefully organized attack that has assumed the character of a real counter-revolution, in terms of its proportions and dynamics. This has cut straight through all the class political autonomy which has principally developed around the Red Brigades political-military strategy. In fact, the attack dealt a blow to both the revolutionary vanguards and the class vanguards and paradoxically whittled the institutional class representatives down to size. As a result of a shift in the balance of forces, the bourgeoisie is further changing all the terms of relations between the classes, from the negotiations between the work forces to the more general aspects of the political relations between class and state. It is also redefining the means of governing the class conflict and the character of the political mediation between the classes in order to allow for the relative containment of the dynamics of active opposition.

The centering of power in the executive branch, the redefining of the 'new' governing instruments in the social contradictions, such as the 'relay race' experiment of mature ad hoc democracy, are not internal problems of the bourgeoisie but are closely connected to the ways and means of determining political and material class conditions.

In this new political phase we are working for the effective renewal of the revolutionary struggle which began in our country. We will redefine the theory of political organizations in order to become the effective leaders of the class movement and of its most advanced expressions, thereby providing a strategic perspective to the question of power.

The attack against the heart of the state is the basis of the strategic intervention of the Red Brigades. This should be understood as an attack against the prevailing economic policies that set the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, an attack that aims at upsetting the political equilibrium which allows the imperialist bourgeoisie programs to continue to function, making the contradictions ungovernable. Political-military intervention is gauged on the one hand by the continuing class struggle, by the ratio of forces between the classes in Italy and by the revolutionary movement; and on the other hand, by the ability of the revolutionary forces to form a suitable bridgehead in the struggle with the class enemy and with imperialism. We are therefore working towards modifying the balance of forces, to line them up in favor of the proletarian side, so that they can play an important part in the struggle against the state and advance the long-term class war for the conquest of political power and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Given that the above is inherent to the current political phase, its maturation is a result of the changes that have taken place in the international context, which influence the choices of the various states in the imperialist chain.

The seriousness of the crisis makes it necessary for the imperialists to redefine the international division of labor and of markets in order to allow for a new expansionist cycle in the capitalist economy. The technological and organizational development of labor, and the concentration of capital produces bitter competition between the Western monopolistic-multinational groups. These factors alone are not enough to overcome the serious recession worldwide crisis; in fact, under present conditions, they produce the opposite effect.

The abundant production of capital increased the instability factors of the world economy. To summarize, the economic plan for the present phase of the crisis will not be able to bring the present problems into balance. The necessity for solving the crisis becomes a political problem, since a total redefinition of the markets calls for a new division of the areas of influence and a new balance in the relations between the blocs.

By this, the imperialists mean that they wish to reduce the Soviet bloc and to bring all those countries that strayed from the fold as a result of national liberation movements back into the Western fold. The imperialist policies of the Western bloc converges when the East-West contradictions are at their worst, despite the different interests and contradictions involved.

The use of power by the United States in the Middle East area has paved the way for a step forward in imperialist policy, bringing together the various initiatives of the imperialist bloc countries towards a pro-Atlantic stance. In other words, once the policy of the terrorist bombings is overcome, a new phase begins in which political-diplomatic initiatives pave the way for a global strategy leading to a strengthening of alliances and political equilibrium which is favorable to the West and agreed by the Europeans, even though they are surrounded by contradictions produced by political-military defeats.

The Italian executive branch is perfectly aligned with this warmongering strategy and plays an active role of its own. This activism becomes a further element of rationalization in the process of centralizing power, since this point of view also influences general power relationships. In this context, anti-imperialism is a priority political problem for every fighting revolutionary force, not only because the problem is produced by the increasing imperialist tendencies towards belligerency, but mostly because the problem is subjectively advanced by the fighting revolutionary forces and by the progressive populations that struggle to free themselves from imperialist influence.

Anti-imperialism, as an imminent political problem, cannot be resolved only as a problem of solidarity or couched in theoretical terms for an 'undefined' proletariat internationalism. It should look for its revolutionary format in a suitable political-organizational proposal that is able to have an impact on imperialist policies. For this reason, we are working towards the consolidation of the anti-imperialist front.

The political needs of the front include the problem of a concrete policy that can be carried out in suitable conditions. In other words, a true policy of alliances does not whittle down principles in order to make them saleable. The policy of alliances and communist goals are two terms that are not mutually exclusive, but have a programmatic relationship.

Whether a policy of alliances can be implemented or not is determined by a concrete analysis of the concrete situation, referring to the dynamics of the crisis and the tendency towards war, to counter-revolution and to the revolutionary forces present, either already active or on call in a progressive sense. It is mostly determined by its function towards the common enemy. The above hold true because in order to carry out the revolutionary process in one's own country, one must take into consideration the political-military weakening of imperialism in the area. Therefore, a policy of alliances between different revolutionary forces that fight against imperialism must take place and is necessary so that they can fight towards the above mentioned weakening.

In this sense, the political goal of the front is part of the communist program. The policy of alliances involving our group should be viewed within a wider anti-imperialist policy that we carry out. This alliance must be made with revolutionary forces whose criteria and goals are different from ours, that is the proletarian conquest of power. The political unity in the alliance must spring from the struggle against the common enemy.

It is clear that the front is not inferior to the international movement, but to work for the front does not preclude the communist search for unity.

The guerrilla activities in Europe are specifically aimed against and have as their common denominator the attack against US imperialism and NATO. They also have many goals in common with the fight of the progressive people in the Middle Eastern Mediterranean area.

The RAF and DA practice of fighting for the promotion of the anti-imperialist front is an important political goal with which we are in full agreement, and which we hope to emulate. This practice poses an objective convergence which is the political basis, in general terms, for the reinforcement and the consolidation of the anti-imperialist fighting front.

ATTACK THE HEART OF THE STATE IN ITS DOMINANT POLICIES!

REINFORCE THE PROLETARIAN CAMP IN ORDER TO ARM IT FOR THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE STATE!

WAR AGAINST IMPERIALISM! WAR AGAINST NATO!!

PROMOTE AND CONSOLIDATE THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST FIGHTING FRONT!

FIGHT TOGETHER!

HONOR TO ALL FALLEN COMRADES!!

For Communism
Red Brigades for the
construction of the PCC
17 February 1987

Excerpts from Notes of a Meeting between the Red Brigades and Red Army Faction in January 1988*

Background: In 1985, the Red Brigades, for ideological and organizational reasons, refused to join the 'anti-imperialist front' of West European terrorists that was proposed by the RAF and Direct Action. With the arrests in February 1987 of the entire leadership of DA, the RAF approached the RB/PCC to try and persuade them to join a 'second' front. In June 1988, the Italian police discovered a RB/PCC safe house in Milan. In that safe house, the police found RB/PCC notes from a secret meeting in January 1988 with the RAF. These notes implied that there were several other clandestine meetings between the two groups. These meetings were designed to 'iron out' the ideological differences between the two groups, especially in regards to how both groups viewed the anti-imperialist front and the prospective targets of this front. Some form of compromise was apparently reached in mid-1988, for the RB/PCC and RAF issued a joint communiqué in September 1988. Unfortunately for the RAF and RB/PCC, in September 1988, the Italian police arrested most of the Rome column of the RB/PCC, thus effectively neutralizing the group in Italy. To date, the RB/PCC has not been able to recover from these arrests.

By reading these notes of January 1988 and then comparing them with the September joint communiqué, one can see what compromises were made by each side. These notes were first published in the public domain in February 1990 in Germany by the Institute for the Study of Terrorism in Bonn. They are presented here for the first time in English translation.

RAF: We believe it is right to continue developing the policy against industrial restructuring that we used during the previous campaign. We feel that this policy should be continued. We know that many revolutionary movements in Western Europe are aware of this discussion. Therefore, we believe, in fact, we are sure, that this line of attack against restructuring is tied to the objective development of imperialism. This line of attack taken by the frontline organizations in Western Europe against industrial restructuring runs parallel to the line of attack against the military strategy of imperialism that was established in the eighties.

The last RAF/DA offensive triggered a debate among many revolutionary fronts. We feel that the problem of restructuring in connection with the shaping of Western Europe was not pursued by the European revolutionary fronts because of the international situation. The European

* Excerpts from *Terrorismus* (published by the Institute for the Study of Terrorism, Bonn), No. 2, February 1990, pp. 5-7. With permission.

revolutionary fronts are aware of the strategy of imperialism, but they do not know much about the strategy of capitalism. In 1985, our offensive against the military-industrial establishment started quite a discussion. We made the mistake of not following up that discussion during our subsequent attacks.

Since the other plan was not adequately developed, we were unable to expand the front. Moreover, since restructuring of capital was not intensified, we failed to develop the front further. Today, the discussion about restructuring is the important issue among many European formations. We believe that the next offensive in the area of restructuring will make it possible for these groups within the revolutionary movement in Western Europe to become more aware of this problem and, consequently, to intensify discussion of the problem as well as the subsequent struggles.

RB: We assume that industrial restructuring has essentially been completed at the European level. Let me give an example: in Italy, the debate about industrial restructuring ended in 1985 with ratification at the labor market and industrial relations levels. Our organization attacked one of the prime movers, among others. In our opinion, radical restructuring of the kind that occurred at Renault in France did take place in Italy in 1981, and at that time, too, our organization apprehended a major architect of restructuring. In Western Europe, a similar situation occurred in Greece, where the Revolutionary Organization 17 November intervened. We feel that the restructuring issue is no longer the central issue in Western Europe. The current problem has to do with centralization, with the concentration of capital, but that is generally proceeding at an objective level. Before we come to the main points of our proposal, we would like to give a few examples.

The strategy prevalent in Italy today tends to view all apparatuses relating to the state and relations with the classes in terms of the new industrial relations, i.e., the new levels of monopoly formation. That is an issue in which many Western European countries are interested (for instance, the FRG delegation that came to look at the problem and ended up forming a joint study group).

That is a reflex from an earlier process, not a central current issue. This political involvement as the central axis of proletarian-bourgeois relations existed once before. We maintain that the objective movement of capital (concentration, merger, etc.) is not in itself an imperialist strategy. In our view, the concrete policies developed by imperialism to achieve political and military objectives constitute the frame of reference. Business volume is the basis of imperialist policy, but it is not equivalent to imperialist policy.

In our opinion, any campaign against industrial restructuring would be a rearguard action. The reason is twofold:

1. It would not defeat imperialist policies and projects;

2. Industrial restructuring, which continues in some areas, is different in different countries.

In our opinion, the front's activities should initially extend to the political factors the imperialist countries have agreed on, to emphasize the anti-imperialist nature of the front. We feel that the front should focus on the politics of cohesion, or, to put it differently, the policy aimed at shaping Europe. Concrete examples of this policy include the intensive efforts undertaken by Italy, Germany and France to patch up the inconsistencies relating to unity within NATO, especially as they relate to the trend towards arms build-ups; the combined activities of the countries of Western Europe (the European organization) with regard to the Middle East; finally, the political role as it relates to political union in Western Europe, the relationship between the United States and the Soviet Union, and, in that context, disarmament/arms buildup in the conventional area. All of that constitutes the main axis for developing front policies.

Let us emphasize, then, that explaining the military situation would not be useful for the purposes of the revolutionary movement. We feel that the political confusion one must try to end doesn't benefit one side only. The attack does not derive benefit from the conflict, but from the main relationship. To give an example: in Italy, there is a debate about regulation of strikes. We would be making a mistake if we were to attack the advocates of the proposal, because regulation not only concerns the workers, but all social relationships; hence, an attack on regulating strikes would be equivalent to attacking the effect rather than the cause.

That is why we are opposed to a campaign against restructuring. The central problem lies with the political leaders who promote these processes at the economic level.

RAF: Consequently, the front should attack the policy that shapes the economy; by doing so, one would attack the politicians, not the industrialists.

RB: That is not correct. One attacks the function independent of the role, but with a view to the political element, the project, i.e., focusing on the person that plays a major role in it.

We would like to ask a question: should the front concern itself with the specific conditions of the classes, i.e., the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, or should it take a stand against imperialism in general? If we were to launch a campaign against industrial restructuring, we would accomplish little, since such a problem does not exist. For instance, Operation [George] Besse was a focal point in France, as could have been the case in Italy in 1979/80.

RAF: Do you think that that operation has been effective in terms of the front? What about Beckurts?

RB: We think that the two are different in terms of their value. Beckurts is something for which the front has to take full responsibility. Besse, on the

other hand, provides direct evidence of the political struggle between the French proletariat and the French bourgeoisie, which does not exist in this form in other countries.

As communists, we assume that both Beckurts and Besse provided positive signals, though at different levels.

RAF: The process of economic internationalization is now under way throughout Europe. The process continues, leading to a European economic union. In our opinion, the operations involving Audran, Zimmerman and Beckurts affected capital, because according to our analysis, economic and political developments are connected.

RB: There is no doubt that these men hold views referred to above. You are engaging in a kind of self-criticism by virtue of having extended the attack to the military strategy of imperialism. We feel that your attack on Von Braunmuehl was a direct attack on imperialist strategy. The impressive political planning has more than ever affected the heart of the imperialist strategy. You attacked Von Braunmuehl, because he was at the top of a European center for co-operation. We feel that the objective was, and still is, central, because it was part of a political realm that is stimulated by imperialism.

Within this framework one can think about attacking, crushing, destabilizing imperialism. For this political strategy overtakes the economic process. At the economic level, responsible for 'shaping Europe politically', there are the cronies of NATO who combine capital and allocate it for armaments for Western Europe. Political, military and diplomatic personnel participate in these efforts.

RAF: Operation Besse, for instance, can be generalized and applied to all of Western Europe, because Renault's strategy is used throughout Western Europe.

RB: That is nonsense. While it is true that restructuring processes are similar throughout the world, it is also true that what happens if this movement leads to a political conflict between the classes in a given country has to do with the dynamics of the class struggle in that country. The political effect created a political aspect for the French proletariat, but we would like to emphasize that a similar event would not have a similar effect in another country.

RAF: Renault was viewed as a symbol of restructuring in Western Europe.

RB: That is what makes this incident remarkable, if you bear in mind that restructuring had already occurred in the other countries (by the time Operation Besse was carried out). The problem is not one of getting at the symbols of what is believed to be the restructuring of Western Europe; rather, one has to make reference to the political projects that have to do

with the general activities of the imperialist countries. Otherwise, one strikes out at the trends, the symbols, not at the projects.

We are a little confused by the ideas you are presenting because they differ from the proposals made at the last meeting and from your recent written statements. We assume that the present proposal for an attack is obsolete. Let us clarify what this front activity involves, because we are missing the point here; all we see in your 'attack' proposal is an attempt to propose a line of attack for the front, tied to and based on the expectations that were raised in France by Operation Besse.

RAF: If we analyse the application to Europe, we are analysing the general aspects.

RB: That is a matter of opinion.

RAF: According to the States' scheme of things, unification occurs through the growth of capital. Besse symbolizes both restructuring and the movement of capital.

RB: At this point we would like to ask what, in your opinion, the dialectic involving other revolutionary forces is about if one tries to force one's own analytical peculiarities on the front. In our opinion, that means not only backing off from earlier claims, but it virtually corresponds to the written DA/RAF statement of 1985. In other words, to view Besse as an operation of this kind amounts to distortion. In any event, generalizing this view of yours is not legitimate since other revolutionary forces have different views.

...

RB: Even though we apparently hold two different views, we can still mean the same thing as we plan two different things. By and large, we are not in favor of launching a front campaign against restructuring. If the RAF feels that it should become active in this area, it should go ahead and do it anyway; the RB are not going to interfere in this area.

We are interested in launching a campaign against the politics of cohesion that we have talked about. We are also interested in establishing contacts with a view to joining forces with other fronts, including non-European ones, for instance, Palestinian ones; but we are not talking about a Western European merger.

The policy of the 'front' is, in our view, more complicated than the simple activities each individual front is able to engage in its own country. It has to deal with the politics of imperialism. If we were to propose a campaign against restructuring to the Palestinians, they would laugh at us.

RAF: But that is not a problem, because what is most important is destabilizing imperialism.

RB: The problem is not whether we agree with regard to the destabilization of

imperialism, the problem is reaching agreement on how that can be accomplished in practical terms. It is clear, for instance, that the objective of weakening imperialism is no different in the case of the Palestinians from what it is in the case of all others. But concrete political alliances must, of necessity, be based on imperialist activities in relation to the Palestinian people. Otherwise, what kind of alliance would it be?

Other examples: According to our political judgement, the 17 November revolutionary group in Greece is not PASOK, but a revolutionary group fighting for socialism. In terms of their objectives, the struggles of the RB and 17 November are connected. But where a relationship materializes it does so because of a political will. We say this because the relationship between different groups is a dialectic that is the culmination of different levels of agreement; one cannot get there by bypassing those levels. To sum it up, political unity follows from overall policy; therefore your proposal is part of your specific position and cannot be the basis for a joint campaign of the 'front'.

RAF: We think that restructuring is not a specific West German issue but a general Western European problem; however, we cannot discuss that today, we can do that later in writing.

...

RAF: In this debate we are being contradicted all the time, whereas we feel one should leave room for compromise. In our dealings with DA we found common ground, despite our differences. We do not think that our line of attack is the only possible way of expanding the operations of the 'front'. We are open to different viewpoints, because it is possible for us to find agreement through discussion. You are being too rigid.

RB: That is not the way things are. It is not simply a matter of rigid opposing positions; rather, it is a matter of understanding how a common line of attack might be defined, bearing in mind that the political aspects of the campaign must be identical. We would like to explain what we mean. If, in the context of a joint campaign, the RAF attacks an industrialist while the RB attacks a diplomat, the campaign loses force. That is the rule of war. To achieve maximum results, the joint forces carrying out an attack must target the same political or military objective.

RAF: We did that with the Beckurts/Von Braunmuehl operations; there was no direct connection, but the same strategy was followed in both cases.

...

RAF: Today we are defining specific points, and then the two groups must write down the substantive details. Then they will be compared.

RB: Before we evaluate the points in the text, we want to define a few things more precisely. All of us here have been given a special task by the

organization, i.e., to arrive at a subjective agreement between our two sides. At this stage of our meeting, the plan of unity between the RAF and the RB is objective rather than subjective. As a result, we do not know whether the organization will approve the plan, to accept the level of unity that was reached here today. To be more exact, the lines of attack are not identical. That means that the organization will treat imperialism the way it has always treated it. Another aspect of the perspective of the 'front' is that there should not only be agreement, but also a right to veto further discussions.

...

RAF: We feel that it is important to discuss the integration of Western Europe from the military point of view as well.

RB: We also think that it comes down again to a confrontation of the two blocs. We are also interested in the political/military role of Western Europe in the crisis areas (Middle East, Persian Gulf).

RAF: The role of Western Europe is tied to NATO. Do you see a change in the role of the USSR, in foreign policy since 1917? We see a change in the relationship between the USA and the USSR. The goal of Soviet foreign policy is to prevent a nuclear conflict. Given this change, the USSR has probably changed its view of the liberation movements. As a result, relations between the two blocs have changed as well (in terms of direction).

Assistance to the liberation movements has been discontinued to reduce international tensions. That is also the reason for the change in relations between Western Europe and the USSR.

RB: Soviet foreign policy has undergone changes because of objective necessities. We think the USSR is not interested in arms build-ups because of domestic problems, and that affects its foreign policy.

As far as the imperialists are concerned, the most recent agreement concerning missile reductions does not entail genuine and real reductions in their own arsenals; rather, it provides an impetus for restructuring conventional armaments. That is especially true with regard to armaments policies in Western Europe. That is also the reason why we regard Western Europe as the political focus in the relations between the two blocs.

...

RB: Another point we consider important is the possibility of an alliance with Palestinian revolutionary forces in the Middle East.

RAF: That is not a problem, why write about it?

RB: We think that it is good to write about it, because we are publicly looking for opportunities to come to terms with European revolutionary forces as

well. Not to do that would be tantamount to telling the Palestinian revolutionary forces in the Middle East that we have no interest in them.

RAF: Alliances are possible, but they should not be made public, because as far as the Palestinians are concerned, Western Europe serves two purposes: it should be attacked and used as a hinterland. That is one of the reasons why none of the Palestinian organizations use their real names when operating in Europe. That is why we never discussed alliances with them.

RB: We think that the Italian revolutionary movement is mostly composed of residual groups with no real revolutionary characteristics. [An explanation of revolutionary movements and anti-imperialist committees in Italy was then given.]

RAF: In that case, who do you talk with?

RB: In the area of armed struggle we relate to and induce the class movement to join the revolutionary movement. We are both fighting a political war against defensive positions.

RAF: That is a big problem. Some parts of movements in many Western European countries recognize guerrilla warfare as the strategic core of the matter, and understand and are part of the 'front'. Groups that are members of the front define armed struggle as being related to guerrilla warfare strategy in Western Europe. For example, some of these movements have planned armed operations in conjunction with the DA and RAF offensive. These movements must be oriented towards organizing guerrilla warfare. The front must also orient these groups towards developing guerrilla warfare in countries that have no guerrilla history (such as Norway, Sweden, Holland, etc.). As part of the development and planning of the front, some sectors of revolutionary movements in these countries have begun a struggle that needs to be guided by the front. Present discussions with these groups are based on the possibility of integrating their activities with the front's leadership. In Germany, the activities of these groups were integrated during the recent campaign.

RB: We are somewhat skeptical regarding the chances of a revolutionary process or organization taking roots through directions from outside the country of origin.

RAF: Guerrilla warfare makes this process possible, but the details vary. Naturally, the objective is for guerrilla warfare to take root. We can accelerate this process if we can provide guidance to the revolutionary movements in these countries with the aim of building revolutionary organizations. This means that in the next offensive, these groups will be used as 'militant groups'. However, since revolutionary consciousness is particularly weak in these countries, our main goal is to provide concrete and direct guidance for the growth of revolutionary consciousness. This process is possible only with those groups that seek unity and recognize the

central role of guerrilla warfare. In the revolutionary process and in the clash between revolution and counter-revolution it is essential that the existence of the counter-revolution be anticipated. The activities of the front in developing and sensitizing the consciousness of these movements serves to enable them to anticipate the counter-revolution.

RB: That is also true; even so, guerrilla warfare actions gives rise at the same time to the counter-revolution – movements that are against guerrilla warfare and formed for this reason.

Joint Communiqué: PCC with Red Army Faction, dated September 1988

The leap towards the policy of the front is necessary and possible for the revolutionary forces in order to give the necessary fierceness to the confrontation.

To achieve this, all ideological-dogmatic positions which still exist within the struggling forces and the revolutionary movement in Western Europe must be fought and overcome because they divide the fighters, and because these positions cannot achieve the level which would be required to infuse the necessary political determination into the struggles and attacks.

The historic differences in the development and the political direction of the individual organizations, (secondary) differences of analysis, etc., cannot and must not be an obstacle to the necessary unification of the manifold struggles and anti-imperialist activities in one common consciousness and a well-aimed attack on the power of imperialism.

This is not a matter of fusing all the individual organizations into a single one, but the Front in Western Europe is developing in a direct and organized process of cognition on the basis of actual attacks; in which the subsequent elements of the unity of the struggling forces are maturing.

Organizing the fighting revolutionary front means organizing the assault. It is neither a matter of an ideological category nor a revolutionary model.

Instead, it is a matter of the development of the political and practical capacity to fight the power of imperialism, to deepen the rift in the imperialist metropolis, and to achieve the qualitative leap of the proletarian struggle.

Our common experience shows that it is possible on the basis of subjective decisions on the part of each organization, in spite of existing differences and contradictions; to continue developing the Front. In our joint debate; we never lost sight of the common element of the attack on imperialism.

Western Europe is the cardinal point in the conflict between the international proletariat and the imperialist bourgeoisie.

Because of its historic, political and geographic character, Western Europe is the area where the three lines of demarcation intersect: State/Society, North/South, East/West.

The deepening crisis of the imperialist system, and the decreasing economic strength of the United States are the main reasons which, together with other political factors, are leading to a relative loss in the political weight of the United States, and which advance the development of the economic, political and military integration process of the overall system.

In this setting, Western Europe's role in the imperialist crisis management increases on several levels:

On the economic level: Western Europe develops a co-ordinated plan of economic policies within the imperialist crisis management as support and buffer against the economic conflicts.

On the military level: there is an acceleration of political-military integration within NATO with political-economic armaments projects in the new imperialist military strategy for the confrontation with the East and with the integrated military-political intervention in the conflicts in the Third World, which are becoming ever more acute, primarily the crisis spots in the Middle East.

On the counter-revolutionary level: there is the arming and integration of the police and secret service apparatus against the development of the revolutionary front, against the revolutionary struggle as a whole; and the pinpointing and aggravation of mass antagonisms. There is also the reorganization and integration for concentrated political intervention against the guerrilla, such as the projects for a 'political solution' in various Western European countries.

On the political-diplomatic level: the projects for 'political dialog' are intended to diffuse the conflicts and consolidate imperialist power positions.

These initiatives also serve to strengthen the processes of the political formation of Western Europe within the overall system.

These levels are interconnected: they advance the political formation of Western Europe, and no country is exempt from that movement.

No fighting revolutionary force may disregard this fact in the course of its revolutionary activities.

These political elements provide the framework within which the Western European Front is possible and necessary.

The historically advanced level of the imperialist counter-revolution has thoroughly changed the relationship of the conflict between imperialism and the revolutionary forces. This means becoming conscious of the increasing weight of subjectivity in the class conflict as well as of the fact that the revolutionary terrain cannot be a mere reaction to objective conditions.

The attack by the Western European Front on the present political, economic and military strategic projects of Western Europe is aimed at weakening the imperialist system in order to initiate its comprehensive political crisis.

Our common offensive is directed

- *Against* the formation of the Western European economic and monetary policies, which in the overall imperialist system are conceived as buffer and support against the most acute economic erosion and which are forcibly imposing the profit and power interests of the banks and the multinational corporations in co-operation with US and Japanese policies, on the backs of the peoples of the metropolis and the Third World and are designed to prevent the collapse of the international financial system.

- *Against* the policies of the Western European formation which are aimed at the strengthening of the imperialist positions, and which are actually intervening in the Middle East on the backs of the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples, to stabilize that region.

- The united attack on the strategic lines of the Western European formation shocks the power of imperialism.

- To organize the armed struggle in Western Europe.

- To build up the unity of the revolutionary forces for the attack.
- To organize the Front.
- To fight together.

Red Army Faction

Red Brigades
For the creation of the PCC
September 1988



9 | Revolutionary Left

Original Language (Turkish): Devrimci Sol
(aka: Dev Sol)

Dev Sol is a large Marxist-Leninist terrorist organization that has been operating intermittently in Turkey since 1978. One of over 60 Marxist-Leninist terrorist groups that caused major security problems for Turkey in the late 1970s, Dev Sol, like the others, was severely crippled by police arrests during the early 1980s. This police crackdown was triggered by the Turkish military which assumed power in September 1980 in order to bring political stability to Turkey. Many Dev Sol militants fled to Western Europe and the Middle East to escape the Turkish military's extensive counter-terrorist dragnet. Although Dev Sol continued to carry out minor, sporadic attacks during 1980-85, the frequency of operations never matched the pre-1980 period. It appears that Dev Sol regrouped and reorganized in Western Europe and then began systematically to rebuild its terrorist and propaganda structures in Turkey as the government was restored to the civilian leadership and martial law was gradually rescinded.

With the escape in 1989 of Dursan Karatas, a key theoretician and operational leader of Dev Sol, the group started to return to its pre-1980 operational level. In 1991, Dev Sol carried out approximately 146 terrorist operations, including the assassinations of two American contractors and a British businessman. It had even reportedly planned to carry out attacks against President Bush during his visit to Istanbul and Ankara in July 1991. The Turkish police interrupted these plans by arresting over two dozen terrorists and uncovering eight safe houses just before the President's visit.

Given that Dev Sol has a larger manpower pool than most other European FCOs, it also has a more extensive organizational structure. Basically, the group has operational units in Istanbul, Ankara, Izmir and Adana. These city units are further broken down into several cells which

are composed of 'armed revolutionary units' – the lowest attack unit in Dev Sol. There are also intelligence, logistical and propaganda cells that interact with the attack units. In terms of hard-core terrorists, Dev Sol is estimated to have about 150 people in Turkey, with supporters and sympathizers by the thousand. Dev Sol in the 1990s is similar in strength and organization to the Red Brigades in the late 1970s – the height of the Red Brigade terrorist threat in Italy.

TACTICS

Dev Sol has carried out predominantly assassinations and bombings of unprotected targets. It has focused its attacks on members of the security forces, especially those who are involved in anti-terrorist operations. In 1991, Dev Sol also started to carry out more attacks against non-Turkish targets, especially during 'Operation Desert Storm'.

TERRORIST LITERATURE

Dev Sol has distributed various journals – the most important being *Mucadele* [Struggle] – and newsletters in Turkey and Western Europe, especially Germany. A major ideological tract of Dev Sol is *Hakliyiz Kazanacagiz* [We Are Right, We Will Win] which was published in 1989. Starting in 1991, Dev Sol also issued a periodic 'news bulletin' in which the group comments on various political developments in Turkey and claims credit for certain terrorist operations. These claims can also be found in certain Dev Sol-related publications in Germany.

SELECTED CHRONOLOGY OF DEV SOL TERRORIST INCIDENTS

1990

- 12 June – Istanbul: Assassinated a retired Turkish Army colonel who had served as a judicial counselor in the martial law command in Istanbul after the September 1980 assumption of power by the Turkish military.
- 27 July – Istanbul: Assassinated a policeman assigned to the riot police.
- 24 August – Istanbul: Executed three college students who Dev Sol claimed had collaborated with the Turkish police.
- 12 November – Istanbul: Assassinated a public prosecutor who was assigned to Bayrampasa prison.
- 12 December – Istanbul: Assassinated a retired lieutenant in the

Turkish national police who had worked in the first (political) section.

- 17 December – Ankara: Assassinated a physician who was the former director of Diyarbakir hospital.
- 1991
- 22 January – Istanbul: Bombed the US Military Traffic Management Command to protest against 'Operation Desert Storm'. Subsequent attacks in January and February were also in protest against the Allied military operations against the 'Iraqi people'.
- 27 January – Ankara: Bombed the offices of Saudi Air, JAL and Air France.
- 29 January – Ankara: Bombed the offices of a British insurance Company.
- 31 January – Ankara: Assassinated a retired Turkish Army general.
- 7 February – Adana: Assassinated an American working as a US military contractor. This was the first American killed in Turkey in almost ten years.
- 22 February – Istanbul: Assassinated a police commissioner who had previously worked in the first (political) section of the Turkish national police.
- 15 March – Ankara: Assassinated a Turkish national police officer who worked in the first section.
- 16 March – Istanbul: Bombed facilities of Bank of Boston, Sky Courier International, Coca-Cola and Pepsi-Cola.
- 22 March – Istanbul: Assassinated an American working as a US military contractor.
- 28 March – Izmir: Bombed facilities belonging to Shell Oil and Citibank.
- 7 April – Istanbul: Assassinated a retired Turkish Army general who was reportedly in charge of an army interrogation center where many 'leftists' were questioned after the September 1980 military takeover.

- 23 May - Adana: Assassinated the Adana regional Jandarma brigadier-general.
- 11 July - Paris, France: In an apparent internal dispute, one of the three original founders of Dev Sol was assassinated.
- 22 July - Istanbul: Bombed facilities of General Electric and Coca-Cola.
- 19 August - Istanbul: Assassinated the British manager of Commercial Union Insurance.
- 12 September - Istanbul: Assassinated three Turkish policemen.
- 13 October - Istanbul: Assassinated a retired Turkish Army colonel.
- 4 December - Istanbul: Assassinated the deputy police chief of Istanbul.

Interview with imprisoned Dev Sol leader, Dursan Karatas, in Turkey in the spring of 1988

Background: In the spring of 1988, a delegation of German leftists visited Turkey to show support for Dev Sol members who were being tried in Turkey. During that visit they interviewed Dursan Karatas, a leading member of Dev Sol who was in prison at that time. Karatas subsequently escaped from a Turkish prison in late 1989, went on to reorganize Dev Sol, and currently is considered to be a major operational leader in the group. The following interview was published in a Dutch underground publication known as *Knipselkrant* (No 7, August 1988, pp.21-4). It is published here in English for the first time.

D. Karatas: How did you find the Turkish courts?

Delegation: Very interesting. They're all asleep [the judges]. Very cold ... [the courtroom]

D. Karatas: When will you go back?

Delegation: Saturday. What do you want to say about the movement of the left in Turkey and in the FRG, about the revolutionary movement?

D. Karatas: What are you talking about, the left in the FRG in general, or the revolutionaries in Turkey?

Delegation: Both.

D. Karatas: First about our appeal to all democratic forces and human rights organizations abroad; they should see the realities in Turkey, that the regime of 12 September is continuing in Turkey. Democratization under the Özal government is only a game, a ploy. September 12 continues to exist in the constitution, the university law, the labor unions, the laws, the associations, and torture.

It is your duty to inform world public opinion of this and to exert pressure on the Özal government. In Turkey, the revolutionary struggle is developing anew. In this respect, we see the future in a positive light. Maybe that is not so clearly recognizable from abroad. But we believe that after some time, the mass movements and solidarity movements will increase, and everybody will see that. We want the solidarity movement abroad to grow parallel to this development. We started a campaign today to accuse the justice system of 12 September. Our families and various democratic organizations support this. We also expect broad-based interest and support from abroad. We believe that your solidarity actions will influence the government. The best examples for this were seen in 1983. There were hunger strikes at that time. In Istanbul, about 2,000 people carried out a 27-day hunger strike. It found support mainly in the FRG. There was a major campaign with hunger strikes both by the German Left and the Turkish revolutionaries, with collections of signatures and protest telegrams from intellectuals and writers to the government. We believe that such support actions could be repeated. We don't know the conditions [in the FRG] very well, what can be done

and what cannot, but this much we can say. That is what I wanted to say about solidarity. We send heartfelt greetings to all.

Delegation: You have reported on the hunger strike in Sagmalcilar as well as about your own situation. You too could participate if the demands are not met. Can you explain that again?

D. Karatas: Since the first days of 12 September, many people were imprisoned, ten thousand, or even a hundred thousand. One of the main objectives of 12 September was to make the masses apolitical, including prison inmates. To achieve this, they used repression, ideological propaganda and torture. One of the instruments of torture was uniform clothing. More precisely: uniform clothing was used in order to rob the people of their identity and distract them from their thoughts. This uniform clothing was rejected by us, the revolutionaries. The law on uniform clothing for prisoners was passed only in August 1987, but they were trying to make us wear uniform clothing as early as January 1984. There was resistance, quite a lot of it. Four of the defendants in our trial died. Four of our friends died during the hunger strike. At that time, we were unable to get rid of the uniform clothing requirement, not with the strength of the resistance at that time, but some improvements were achieved, and a tradition of resistance against uniform clothing was created along with an awareness of why that was necessary. These initiatives created new initiatives, and in the end, the hunger strike initiatives begun in July–August 1987 spread all over Turkey. During these initiatives, Didar Sensoy, a family member of one of the prisoners, died in front of the Parliament building. Still the government did not abolish the uniform clothing requirement. It had stubbornly decided to 'rehabilitate' the prisoners. But after the refusal to wear uniform clothing and repeated hunger strikes, after the pressure from outside through public opinion and family members, after all this resistance in the prisons, the government could no longer maintain its determination, and it decided on *de facto* abolition of uniform clothing.

On the 30th day of the initiative in Sagmalcilar the uniform clothing rule was abolished, but there are other problems. People are being put in chains to be transported to court and are being kept in isolation in Sagmalcilar. The penal institution called Sagmalcilar II does not yet have any multiple cells. The windows are very small, and the food is handed in bowls through barred openings. Visits do not take place in the normal manner, telephones are monitored, even telephone conversations with attorneys. You have the demands of the Sagmalcilar inmates. They are on a hunger strike to force the abolition of all that. We have heard that they have been negotiating for the last three days. We believe that they will continue if there is no positive outcome. If the hunger strike goes on longer, we will be forced to undertake initiatives in support of them, and we believe that other prisons will make certain efforts to carry out support initiatives. Only do not believe that the resistance will continue for very long, we hope that it will end in any case. That means that the resistance will take on other dimensions regardless of whether it ends today or not. For we shall achieve our common rights. In Turkey, solidarity among the prisons is very strong. That means that if there is a resistance initiative going on in one prison, it is impossible for another prison to remain unaffected. In general there is solidarity because our problems are the same everywhere. We are as one with our friends.

Delegation: In an earlier conversation, you gave us an evaluation of the left in Turkey, of the reformists, and the TKP.

D. Karatas: It is probably useful to give a short summary of the history of the left in Turkey. Since the 1920s, the tradition of the left has been symbolized by the TKP. The latter was limited until the 1960s to activities taking place within a small group of intellectuals. This means that during a period of 50 years, there was a time of 30–40 years during which they followed Kemalism, which we consider the dictatorship of the petite *bourgeoisie*, the representative of petit *bourgeois* ideology.

That means that there was no independent representative of the views of the proletariat and the working population, no determined struggle for power. And the defeats had weakened them (the TKP) more with every day, and by 1951, it had disappeared from the political arena. In the 1960s, the Workers' Party of Turkey (TIP) was created. We can say that this created for the first time the conditions in which the left became a mass movement. After 1960 there arose a relatively democratic environment, which means that the younger generation got to know the Marxist-Leninist classics which by then had been translated. But since the young generation was not yet able to accept Marxism-Leninism completely it was also unable to develop a revolutionary strategy for Turkey: the young could not completely understand Marxism. And they joined the TIP, almost to a man. In this way, the TIP gained a mass basis.

With a more complete understanding of Marxism-Leninism, the mistakes of the parliamentary-reformist line of the TIP were recognized. This caused various splits among the followers of the doctrine of the national revolution, the socialist revolutionaries, and the line that rejected both. As a result of this thesis, antithesis and synthesis, an armed movement arose in Turkey. The message which this armed movement brought to the masses was that the first goal of the struggle, the fall of the bourgeois-fascist government, is only possible through the armed struggle, and that the parliamentary path is fruitless. This was the foundation on which the People's Liberation Party of Turkey–Front (THK–C) and the struggle of the People's Liberation Army of Turkey (THKO) were building. This means that the tradition of the armed struggle appeared first in 1971 with the THKP–C and the THKO. At the same time, there was another new formation within the left. This can be subdivided into two categories: one group saw the way to revolution in Turkey in the armed struggle and was convinced that a revolution could only be realized through armed struggle, while another group believed that a revolution could be achieved without the necessity of an armed struggle. This latter conviction arose among supporters of the Workers Party (TIP) of Turkey, the Socialist Workers Party of Turkey (TSIP), and the Communist Party of Turkey (TKP). Although they claim that they don't reject armed operations, nothing has been seen so far in the way of an organization or operation aimed at an armed struggle. Thus we view the left in Turkey on principle as consisting of two parts: those who see the way to the fall of the existing regime through armed struggle, and those who are attempting it through peaceful means.

At present, the policy represented by the THKP–C is split into several groups. The THKP–C no longer represents its old line. People have emerged who are advocating other views and other strategies. But if we view it as a whole, we can

once more subdivide it into two groups: those who advocate the armed struggle, and those who reject it. The 'United Left', in which, I believe, seven or eight groups are represented under the leadership of the TKP, clearly follows the line of Gorbachev, fighting against nuclear weapons as the main conflict, viewing this as a peace strategy, and seeking an agreement with all governments in order to prevent the danger of an atomic war. In our opinion, this is a line which prevents revolution and hinders the struggle of the masses. It must be rejected. It is not Marxist-Leninist, we say. And the result is that the politicians of the 'United Left' have never been able to mount a consistent policy in a country like ours. Their policies are shaped by what people in the USSR are saying. That means that yesterday, they advocated what Khrushchev said, and today they follow Gorbachev. And, after all, Gorbachev criticizes Khrushchev. Yesterday, they defended Stalin, and today they defend Gorbachev. And Gorbachev condemns Stalin. Thus our friends of the 'United Left' lack all consistency.

We say that the specific way for Turkey leads through the 'strategy of the politicized military struggle'. This is a line which is based on the armed struggle, but does not reject the other legal democratic, economic, ideological, and political forms of struggle. In short, this line is close to that of Cuba, El Salvador, and Nicaragua. We advocate this kind of line. In our opinion, the 'United Left' does not have any strong forces in Turkey. Even though the TKP claims in broadcasts by its own radio station that it leads everyone in Turkey, those who live in Turkey know that this is not so. Doubtless, it has some following, but this is limited to connections with workers in the labor unions and with the bureaucracy. Beyond that, it has no forces worth noting. If you ask me whether the other leftist groups are strong, I have to answer that they are not, in our opinion. The left in Turkey has suffered great reverses since September 12, but it is recovering. In this respect, things are beginning to develop, nothing major yet, but nevertheless tangible, that much we can see. But in our opinion, this development is not favoring the 'United Left'. And anyway, the 'United Left' and the TKP, or as it now calls itself, the TBKP (United Communist Party of Turkey), has reached a line of accommodation with the government. This is a line that blocks the revolutionary struggle. We reject this. Naturally, there are other lines in between which reject the TBKP and THKP. We can also subdivide those into different categories, but they have so far not chosen the path of accommodation with the government, but they differ with us regarding tactics and strategy. In spite of all this, we are for an alliance against imperialism and fascism with all leftist groups in Turkey with the exception of the followers of 'Aydinlik', who in the past have betrayed revolutionaries to the bourgeoisie. We are convinced that in spite of all differences between the leftist groups, a common ground can be found for the fight against imperialism and fascism. We are trying to find it. But the left in Turkey does not have enough experience in this respect and has great problems, so that it will not be easy.

While I am telling you this, I want to say the following. In Hamburg, a man named Erol Aydin was killed. I believe you are aware of that. This was an attempt to harm our movement. It was claimed that Dev Sol had killed Erol Aydin. But later, the killer (what was his name?) confessed that he had shot him by mistake. I

want to explain the following, and let the whole world know: in the history of our movement, no weapon was ever pointed at a patriot and revolutionary of the left. Dev Sol has never soiled itself with the blood of patriots and revolutionaries. In this respect we have always condemned conflicts within the left. Followers of other leftist groups have killed or injured our friends, they have prevented us from pursuing our policies. Nevertheless, we never took revenge. For we knew that is a blind alley. In the case of Erol Aydin, we have repeatedly declared that he was not killed by our friends. But we were not believed. Who knows, maybe you in the FRG did not believe us either. But finally, Yilmaz Ulusoy (yes, I remember now, his name was Yilmaz Ulusoy) confessed in a letter which was published in the *Tageszeitung* that he had killed his own friend by mistake. We are against such conflicts within the left, they are to be condemned, we believe. There is no problem for the left that cannot be solved through talks and discussions. We appeal to the entire left, especially to the Turkish revolutionaries abroad: in the past, there were many murders within the left, many revolutionary-minded patriots were killed, much blood was shed. That must be condemned. We must face these problems rationally and find the reasons for former mistakes. If we do not find them, there will be even more serious quarrels in the future, more serious armed conflicts, and more massacres. The only way is to expose mercilessly the mistakes of the past, to seek out those responsible, and to find the material reasons.

Delegation: What is the difference between today's trial and those you have experienced in the past, and what, in your opinion, are the reasons?

D. Karatas: Turkey is an economically and politically unstable country. All underdeveloped countries like ours are unstable. Every ten years or so they have a junta. In the history of Turkey there was 12 March 1971, and in 1960 the coup of the *petite bourgeoisie* and some bourgeois Kemalist forces. On 12 September, there was the Evren coup, which today we say must be condemned. All this is a result of the economic, political and social instability. Exploitation is the norm. Exploitation by imperialism, the ruling forces fight against each other, the struggle of the masses, the revolutionary struggle is becoming more embittered because of the increasing exploitation. Monopolistic capitalism has not developed here as it did in Europe due to its own dynamic, but is weak. For that reason, it remains helpless, both in solving its inherent contradictions and in containing the struggle of the masses. For that reason, it sweeps aside from time to time all democratic principles and turns to open fascism. In our opinion, fascism is permanent in Turkey, sometimes patent, sometimes hidden. When it is practiced under cover, a game is played which we call the game of democracy. That is, while oppression and violence reign, they try to prove the existence of democracy through the seeming preservation of some rights. But it is a country where actually there is no democracy, no freedom. When there is a junta, the ruling forces get bolder, and all democratic rights are suspended. But as experiments in various countries in the world have shown, this open kind of fascism cannot be permanently institutionalized because of the demands by different classes and strata, because of the widening of the class struggle, and because of the inner contradictions. They tried it on 12 March and on 12 September. But at the time of 12 March, they could not fully implement the intended program because of the development of the armed

struggle. Only after 12 September, did they succeed in implementing it. The implementation of the program of 12 September, or rather of fascism, happened in a way because of the sins of the left. The left did not fight back enough. It was taken by surprise, badly mauled, part of it withdrew to Europe. Because not enough of a fight was put up to spoil the game of fascism, 12 September has become more permanent and programmatic. The fact that the justice system and the institutions of 12 September are still in existence today is partly the fault of the Left. But the lack of interest on the part of the democratic world public opinion and the socialist countries in what the junta is doing, the lack of solidarity and support, are also at fault. We are convinced that if there were enough solidarity among the democratic revolutionary forces in the world, US imperialism could not install such governments in countries like ours, or at least it would be more difficult. But today there is not enough solidarity in the world.

Today in Palestine, as we can see on TV, people can have their arms and legs broken by Israelis, and there is hardly any echo. This means that the ruling forces together with US imperialism can install a junta wherever they please because the struggle and the solidarity of the democratic forces in the world are so weak. Naturally, another important reason is the domestic dynamics of the countries and the situation of the local revolutionary forces there. But we can criticize the revolutionary forces only within the framework of their historic development. The left in Turkey is a new, young movement. The revolutionary struggle, the armed struggle in Turkey, has a history of only 20 years. During this time, it has been hard-hit twice. Nevertheless, it continues to persist. We suffered losses on 12 March. On 12 September we suffered more losses, but we are trying to get back on our feet. This is not easy.

We were not able to organize enough forces against fascism. To that extent, the institutionalization of 12 September and its continuation is our fault. But the causes are objective. We also think that in addition, the subjective reasons are of limited importance.

The changes in the justice system must be considered parallel to this. The junta cannot practice open fascism openly, i.e. it cannot show the laws that we consider fascist to the public. Therefore they began after 6 November 1983 to put on a charade of democratic conditions. This also had an effect on the courts. But actually, the changes in the courts and the prisons are due to the struggle of the people whom they wanted to rehabilitate. Doubtlessly, the struggle on the outside is also playing a role in it. But its influence is limited. Order cannot establish itself. While this is so, a policy of loosening and tightening the screws is being applied. So, after strong pressure has been applied for some time, it must be lessened again for a while in order to prevent major reactions. With its constitution and its laws, 12 September has lost some of its value, its decline has begun, and that affects also the judiciary. The courts can no longer remove us from the courtroom, and maybe they can no longer exclude us from the proceedings because we are not wearing uniform clothing, we are no longer beaten, but articles 141-142 (corresponding to art. 129a in the FRG) and the emergency laws of 12 September continue in force. This means that not much has really changed. In the past, we were brought naked before the judge and beaten, and that is no longer possible. But we fought hard to

achieve this. In short, what I want to say is that the ruling forces have not given us anything for free. This struggle of the revolutionary forces was carried on with the support of patriots and intellectuals.

No doubt the revolutionaries, democrats and human rights organizations abroad have contributed to this success. We are grateful.

Delegation: Has our presence changed anything as far as you can see?

D. Karatas: Naturally, one can say today that the presence of the delegation from Germany has disquieted the court.

Especially when there are visitors from abroad, our statements are viewed as denunciation of Turkey in Europe, and they are turned into a question of personal honor. We counter this by saying: 'Your state is a member of the European Council and wants to become a member of the EC. If you are in the European Council and want to be a member of the EC, you will have to adjust to the customs that pertain there. In this respect we don't have a problem with the idea that Turkey is being denounced there. We are simply revealing the real conditions in Turkey. When no Europeans were present, we revealed these facts. But when Europeans are present, you try to prevent us from doing it so that your crimes will not become known to the world public. It is our duty to reveal the realities in Turkey to the democratic world public. The nations of the world must know the full truth.' Naturally, they are disturbed. Neither the representatives of the ruling forces nor the court want the realities to become known to the public abroad, since they claim that there is democracy in Turkey. In a country with a democratic system, courts that do not grant the right to defend oneself are incomprehensible. But in Turkey, there is no right to defend oneself. Nor, in a democratic country, can there be courts that are controlled by the military. But in Turkey, court proceedings are carried out under military control at present, and there are people who have been in investigative detention for eight years. That is not democratic. But they do not want these facts to become known abroad. That is why they are disturbed. Naturally we must make use of this visit to make these facts known abroad. We had this conversation in order that our message is spread. Do you believe that we have made clear what we want to say?

Delegation: We find it very cold here.

D. Karatas: For two years, we were brought here in winter in underwear and undershirts, and with beatings. They let us wait for six hours in the cold. And if the sun shone into a corner in summer, we were prevented from going to the sunny spot in order to warm. I want to add that I am not saying this to complain, but so that it will become known, so that the nature of fascism will become known.

Delegation: Was today the first time that you were able to appear here in clothing you had chosen yourself?

D. Karatas: No, we have been able to come to court hearings in our own clothes since 11 February 1986. Before that, we never wore the uniform clothing. We always came in our underwear. And for two years, the hearings were conducted in our absence. And in the meantime, the proceedings continued with two or three people who were not part of the resistance. But the proceedings continued for two years in our absence ...

S. Kukul: Well, in Metris, too, our attitude was not accepted, we were split. Some

of the groups, probably the majority, wore the uniform clothing. That was in 1985. We undertook a hunger strike to the death during which four of our friends died. After that, there was a long discussion of whether the uniform clothing should be worn or not. In addition to our trial (Dev Sol), there is another trial, that of TIKB. The defendants in that case refused. Finally, they put on the clothing, as did the prisoners in Metris. Only because we did not budge from our position, the government gave in. And later, they, too, took off the uniforms.

Delegation: What kind of people are the defendants in the Dev Sol trial? You are making statements here, and I guess you are authorized to make them. That is why we want to know your views on the Kurdish question and the Kurds.

D. Karatas: Actually, it is not only I who makes statements. Other friends can do that, too. Actually, they chose me. I came because you called me. Anybody else among our friends could make my statements.

I am of Kurdish descent myself; that is, I am a Kurd. There is a Kurdish question in Turkey. In our opinion, Turkey is a country with two nations. There is a Turkish people and a Kurdish people. The Kurds have been deprived of all national rights. We say that the Kurds must determine their fate themselves. Today it is forbidden in Turkey even to speak the word 'Kurd'. To say in Turkey that there are Kurds means separatism, and that is a criminal offense. But the reality is that six or seven million Kurds live in Turkey. And these people are deprived of all their national rights, they cannot use their own language, or live according to their own culture, they have no rights whatsoever. To be more precise: all the characteristics that make them a nation are being denied them. In this respect, there is a question of a struggle of the Kurdish people. Don't misunderstand me; we are not Kurdish nationalists. We are Marxist-Leninists and we advocate a class struggle, which does not exclude a national struggle, instead of a struggle for self-determination separately for the Turkish and Kurdish people. That means the basic goal of the Turkish and Kurdish people is the fall of the existing oligarchy, the reign of the Turkish oligarchy and of fascism. We say that they must get together in one single organization, not by nations, but by classes. But that does not mean that we do not support the Kurdish movement. Today, we criticize the line of the PKK, and sometimes its operations, but in general we support it as a Kurdish patriotic movement. Although it contains nationalist elements, it represents today a force against imperialism and oligarchy. PKK fights them, and we support it. There is a Kurdish question in Turkey, and we believe that this is widely known in the European cities. Even in Turkey, the bourgeois press nowadays can print different opinions on that. In a way, the bourgeoisie can no longer prevent the use of the word Kurd, and this recognition will grow. Although hundreds of trials have been initiated because of references to the Kurdish people and the demand for its right to self-determination, but we believe that after a while, these trials will have to be de facto suspended.

Delegation: There is a lot that has to be discussed. We, too, support in general the movement for independence of the Kurdish people. But like you, we are critical of the PKK.

D. Karatas: We would like to draw your attention to something. There are many organizations and groups in Europe that demand the independence of Kurdistan.

But most of them are not in Kurdistan, in contrast to the PKK. The PKK is leading a struggle, though with mistakes and inadequacies, and we support that. That is why we respect the PKK. It has lost hundreds of its members. The other groups are unfortunately in exile. They are émigrés. That is why the PKK ranks highest among them.

S. Kukul: The PKK has many shortcomings and inadequacies. We, too, reject their form of organization on principle, i.e. the formation on a national basis. For in our opinion, the liberation of the Kurdish and Turkish people today is possible only through a joint organization. That is the way to self-determination for the Kurdish people. As a separate initiative, liberation is impossible.

Delegation: We have observed in the FRG that in this discussion, revisionist-reformist oriented groups of the left usually end the discussions with the question: 'Are you for or against the PKK?' And after that, all further discussion is cut off.

What we want to say is that the PKK must be supported in spite of all reasons to criticize it, because it is fighting for its independence, because it is active at this time in Kurdistan.

D. Karatas: We sort of agree with that. However, it could be questioned in what respect it will be successful or not. This movement is capable of renewing and even correcting itself. This also depends somewhat on the balance of power in the world, at least from our viewpoint.

In our opinion it is also not possible for the PKK at this time to create an independent Kurdistan all by itself and on this platform of the struggle. In this point, we are roughly in ideological agreement. It is quite natural that the revisionists in Turkey are against the PKK. The history of the left in Turkey is dominated by a status-quo mentality. Historically, there is no tradition of struggle within the left, or, at any rate, it is very weak. Reformism was predominant. That could be broken only in 1971.

And for that reason, it is not only the ruling forces that oppose any armed operation, but also those on the left whom we call revisionist or reformist. They try to prevent this kind of thing because it would overthrow their way of life and operation. For that reason, the reformist left is against all radical action, and it has a theory to support that.

They always attacked the policy of the armed struggle with the words 'These are CIA agents, counter revolutionaries, and agents provocateurs'. This happened in 1971 and again in 1975-80. That never changes. But in the history of Turkey, the tradition of revolt is very weak; in this respect, reformism is very strong. That means that the root of this attitude is the weakness or even absence of the tradition of revolt in the history of Turkey, and among the masses. This is the material basis of reformism. No doubt this makes the reformist ideology quite understandable.

Thus it is quite natural that the émigrés call the PKK 'counter revolutionaries'. For they themselves have never carried on a struggle in Kurdistan and are unable to do it. In their opinion, any armed operation in Kurdistan is a provocation leading to genocide.

Delegation: Is it correct to say that the difference with the other groups in the FRG does not lie in the name PKK or Dev Sol, but basically in the armed struggle which those groups reject?

D. Karatas: Yes, that is true. That is what I wanted to explain. It is basically not the opposition to the PKK or to Dev Sol, but to the armed struggle. Your definition is correct.

S. Kukul: That is something that destroys their way of life. There is a balance which the system has created and apportioned them a role within that balance. If this role is endangered by an armed struggle, they become insecure in this role, and then add to this the reaction by the Right, that explains their opposition.

D. Karatas: We call it the status-quo mentality. They do not want the status quo to be changed.

S. Kukul: We would like to ask a question if that is all right with you. How do you know Devrimçi Sol?

Delegation: In the FRG, Dev Sol became known first through its occupation of the consulate in Cologne. Before that, it was not known that there was such an organization called Dev Sol. They first attracted attention by its occupation of the consulate. After that, Dev Sol was portrayed in the German press, or rather in the bourgeois press, as a terrorist movement, and at first that made it difficult for the West German revolutionaries to approach Dev Sol. But that was not primarily due to Dev Sol, but to the fact that the revolutionary movement in the FRG is very small and weak.

Because of their weakness and the divisions between them, the revolutionaries in the FRG thought it was right to work together with the Turkish revolutionary movement in the FRG.

For that reason, many decided to work with the Dev Sol movement that had appeared earlier on the scene and had more members [in Germany]. And for a long time, they considered Dev Sol a terrorist movement because of the false information they had received. Even today, some German revolutionaries will say 'That is a terrorist movement' when they read a report about Dev Sol in the paper.

D. Karatas: If terrorism means gaining power through armed struggle in a country like ours, then we are terrorists.

If terrorism means resisting by armed struggle the Hitlerian fascists who attack all parts of the working population, protecting the masses, freeing their living space of fascist occupation, then we are terrorists.

And furthermore, if Ho Chi Minh is a terrorist, and the followers of the FSLN in Nicaragua and the revolutionaries in El Salvador are terrorists, then we, too, are terrorists, that is true.

Delegation: What is being advocated in the ruling circles, and by necessity also in the German press, is to do everything in order to prevent the revolutionary struggle in Turkey. For, after all, Turkey's accession to the EC is in their interest. That is why people in the FRG know more about Nicaragua than about the struggle in Turkey, and they know the FSLN better than the Turkish revolutionary movement.

D. Karatas: Thank you very much. The judges are coming ...

Dev Sol 'news bulletin' No. 3, dated 1 March 1991, claiming responsibility for the attempted assassination on 28 February of a US Air Force officer in Izmir

OUR LAND IS NOT A BASE FOR IMPERIALIST MURDERERS!

The NATO and US bases located in Turkey were among the centers of aggression used against the peoples of the Middle East. American bombers taking off from Incirlik, Erhac, and Batman bases carried death to the people of Iraq. With the tens of thousands of bombs used in Iraq, people were savagely massacred without any civilian-military discrimination, and all the economic and cultural wealth of Iraq was destroyed.

Despite all the effort spent to conceal the facts, today the reality of how the imperialist powers massacred thousands of people is slowly revealing itself. A massacre was brought about in the Middle East with the use of all the advances of technology.

We will never forget this massacre!

The Ozal government collaborated in the criminal actions of imperialism against the Iraqi people by allowing the use of Turkish soil as a base for this massacre. The Ozal government is at least as responsible as imperialism for the burning to death of thousands of women and children in shelters.

Ozal's policies have been those of creating animosity between peoples. As a result of this policy and under the guidance of US imperialism, Turkey has turned into a new Israel.

The war made it apparent that the US and NATO bases fulfill no other function than strengthening the presence of imperialism in our country and reinforcing its dependence; the importance of closing down the US and NATO bases, annulling all bilateral agreements that reinforce imperial dependence and withdrawing from all imperial pacts – primarily NATO – has become obvious once more.

Thanks to the Ozal government acting as a servant of imperialism, the imperialist murderers are now able to act in our country as if it were theirs. While totally neglecting the safety of its own people, the government has mobilized all its forces for the Americans.

This will not be forgotten!

TURKEY IS NOT A PLAYGROUND FOR IMPERIALISTS!

We will hold the Ozal government responsible for its policy of national dishonor and for being the servant of imperialism. The dishonor of promoting interests by shedding the people's blood will not go unpunished.

'FIGHTING AGAINST THE OZAL GOVERNMENT IS FIGHTING AGAINST IMPERIALISM' will be our battle cry in our struggle for an independent and democratic Turkey.

Today the imperialists are enjoying their victory of having destroyed Iraq and massacred its people. It is futile to boast about this, for they have been unable to overcome a people's struggle led by revolutionaries. Their only success is in having the Saddam administration, which they once co-operated with and supported, accede to their demands. That such administrations cannot resist imperialism even if they fight it from time to time is not a new phenomenon.

The war against imperialism in the Middle East is not over!

The US should not think that the war is over because it beat Iraq. The war will continue even more fiercely with the participation of the Arab, Turkish, Kurdish and Persian peoples, who will bring an end to their collaborator administrations, supported by imperialism, and destroy the status quo imposed on the peoples.

The people of Iraq, after gaining power themselves, will succeed in organizing the resistance against imperialism and defeating it.

The reality is that the US attacked Iraq, not to liberate Kuwait, but to impose its control over Middle Eastern oil, that it wants to enslave people by usurping their resources, that it wants to convey to the world a message – 'either you obey me or you will be bombed to destruction' – and that imperialism's aggression knows no boundaries.

But the people will not yield to imperialism!

The terror and massacres of imperialism will not stop the anti-imperialist fight for independence and freedom.

We will continue our actions against imperialism and the Ozal administration!

We will hold the Ozal administration responsible for co-operating with imperialism, for acting as its hired gunman – working in exchange for dollars – and for massacring the Arab people.

We will demand an explanation for turning Turkish and Kurdish lands into bases of aggression of imperialism against the people.

The American Lieutenant-Colonel Alvin Macke, stationed at the NATO headquarters in Izmir, has been punished by our organization.

THE US AND NATO BASES SHOULD BE CLOSED DOWN IMMEDIATELY!

DOWN WITH IMPERIALISM AND THE OZAL COLLABORATOR GOVERNMENT!

THE PEOPLES' FIGHT AGAINST IMPERIALISM WILL CONTINUE!

Revolutionary Left
Armed Revolutionary Units

Dev Sol news bulletin No. 9, dated 22 March 1991, claiming responsibility for the assassination of an American military contractor in Istanbul

WE ARE GIVING OZAL ONE OF BUSH'S CHILDREN SO THAT HE DOES NOT
GO TO AMERICA EMPTY-HANDED.

Ozal, who opened all the country's doors to the American war machine during the imperialist war waged against the peoples of the Middle East and turned the bases into headquarters of murder, is going to meet Bush. To get the payoff for his 'servitude' to America, to turn the country into an arsenal for the US in the Middle East, and to sign new agreements with the imperialists.

We repudiate all agreements that strengthen imperialism. We stand against the whole economic, political and military presence of imperialism in our country. We want the US and NATO bases to be closed and all the bilateral agreements to be annulled.

Our aim is an independent and democratic Turkey. This is what we are fighting and struggling for. But Ozal wonders 'What are we good for?' He should have learned this a long time ago. However, if he still hasn't, while he is in the US he can ask Bush, from whom he always seeks advice, and learn what we are good for. He knows us from Vietnam, Angola, Nicaragua, Salvador, and Palestine. Who knows those who struggle against imperialism better than Bush?

Yes, we say an independent Turkey is a country where the people control their own destiny. In this country, there is no place for collaborators! But servants of imperialism, like Ozal, pretend not to hear this. And they have the audacity to say 'What are we good for!'

Our actions will definitely teach Ozal what we are good for!

In order not to go to the US empty-handed, he can take one of Bush's children with him. He can tell Bush that we say, 'Either Turkey is to be independent or imperialists will continue to collect their dead friends.'

This action of ours is only a warning.

We will continue to target imperialist bases, US installations, agents and officials unless the imperialist murderers take their hands off our country and leave. We will not agree to turn Turkish lands into arsenals and war bases for imperialists in the Middle East. We will make it impossible for the imperialist murderers and their collaborators to live in our country.

Our anti-imperialist, anti-oligarchic struggle will continue until we create an independent, democratic, and socialist Turkey.

We carried out the attack against John Gandy, the manager of TUSLOG and the American firm of Vinnel-Brown and Root for this reason.

DOWN WITH IMPERIALISM!

WE DO NOT WANT IMPERIALIST BASES AND TREATIES!

Revolutionary Left
Revolutionary Armed Units

Undated Dev Sol communiqué on 'Operation Desert Storm'

DO NOT KEEP SILENT ABOUT THE ARAB VICTIMS!

FIGHT IMPERIALIST AGGRESSION!

Right now, a terrible mass murder is taking place in the Middle East. The people in Iraq are being exterminated. The imperialists are perpetrating a bloodbath in the Middle East with weapons that were brought to the area months earlier. Iraq was turned into a hell by the bombardments of the so-called allied forces. The western mass media, controlled by the imperialists, are broadcasting false information. But not even these lies can hide the cruel suffering they themselves have caused.

This war is being waged in the interest of the oil monopolies and oil sheikhs. Blood is flowing for the sake of the imperialist thieves. Imperialism does not accept anything that goes against its interests in this oil-rich region. The reason for the oppression of the people in the Middle East is that the imperialists insist on playing a dominant role. While the war is going on, they want to destroy the national and social movements in the region.

Beside the intervention by the US, France, Britain, and Saudi Arabia, other imperialist nations are preparing for action. The Turkish government, which has been playing the role of warmonger from the beginning of the crisis, allows its country to be used as a base for attacks on Iraq and is preparing for a second front in which Turkey can play an active role in the war.

In spite of the propaganda of the imperialist press, there is a growing awareness among the people of the world of why and in whose interests this war is being waged. Everywhere in the world, protests are increasing. The rage of the people in the Middle East is growing, and so is their resistance. The imperialists will not gain their objective through genocide. They will suffer severe reverses, as history has shown in Vietnam, Algeria and Angola. The fascist Özal regime collaborates with the imperialists. The offer to use the Incirlik NATO base for US bombing raids against Iraq is simply an attempt to drag Turkey into the war.

Özal participates in the frontal attack on the Arab population. Strengthen the resistance to the fascist Özal regime!

SMASH THE IMPERIALIST WAR!

IMPERIALIST TROOPS OUT OF THE MIDDLE EAST!

DO NOT KEEP SILENT ABOUT THE MASS MURDER OF ARAB POPULATIONS!

BUSH, MAJOR AND MITTERRAND ARE MURDERERS!

ALL PEOPLE IN THE WORLD ARE BROTHERS AND SISTERS!

OUR STRUGGLE CONTINUES!

DEVIRIMICI SOL GÜCLER
(Revolutionary Left Forces)

Silahlı Devrimci Birklikler
(Armed Revolutionary Units)

Communiqué dated 7 February 1992, claiming credit for the assassinations of Turkish police officers

IN OUR COUNTRY, WHERE TORTURE, MASSACRES AND DISAPPEARANCES OF PERSONS ARE INCREASING, AND THE MURDERERS CAN LIVE FREE, WE SHALL CONTINUE TO IMPLEMENT POPULAR JUSTICE!
THE GOVERNMENT WHICH ORDERS MASSACRES AND TORTURE AND PROTECTS THE MURDERERS IS THEREFORE RESPONSIBLE FOR ALL DEATHS ...!

Demirel and İnönü must not believe that they can realize their intentions unhindered and continue this policy while we stand idly by. Yesterday as today, the revolutionaries had the same strength and courage to oppose the policy of oppression and torture directed against the people, and to defend themselves against all attacks. No one must believe that the revolutionaries will remain silent on this double standard and collaboration with oppression, torture and murders, or that they will passively stand by and let themselves be weakened.

WE HAVE OFTEN WARNED THE GOVERNMENT!

We have demanded that the torturers who have massacred the revolutionaries and the people are identified and convicted. We have demanded that torture and executions on the spot are discontinued, and that the fate of the disappeared ones is investigated and made public. But nothing happened. They are trying to suppress these demands of the people and the revolutionaries simultaneously through empty promises of democracy and human rights, and by terror and torture.

In the three months of their administration, their policy of oppression and torture, which they are going to intensify, has become apparent. We have carried out the following operations with the goal of sending yet another warning to the DYP-SHP government and to show it that we are carefully watching their steps.

On 3 February 1992, we punished

Atif Ödül, (police commissioner),
Mürüvet Akpınar (police officer),
Salih Sevgican (police officer), in Istanbul;
Edip Salman (police officer),* in Adana; and

* The newspaper reports on the punishment raids in Istanbul and Adana alleging that these operations were carried out by the PKK, are lies and provocations by the police. They show the helplessness of the police and the government.

Ahmet Kaya (retired police officer), in Izmir because they were torturers.

On 6 February 1992, we punished the chief prosecutor of the State Security Court, Yaşar Günaydin, in Istanbul, as well as his bodyguard Şaban Ceylan, and his driver Halit Balta.** In Adana, the police headquarters was stormed and police officer Özer Özkaya*** punished by our organization.

The government and its supporters call these operations 'terror', but the peoples of Turkey know that the government is the real terrorist.

If the killer gangs continue their terror with force of arms and government authority by shooting the people and the revolutionaries, torture them to death, and secretly dispose of the corpses, inflicting lasting health damage on people through torture, depriving them of their freedom for years on end, and taking them to the gallows, they, too, shall receive their just deserts.

The government was not able to protect either the torturers in Istanbul, Adana and Izmir, or the chief prosecutor of state security in Istanbul, Yaşar Günaydin. The government knows better than any other about their crimes, for it rewarded the torturers by entering them in their personnel files as successes meriting promotions. For these crimes, they were condemned by the people's court and punished.

The policemen whom we punished in Istanbul, Atif Ödül, Mürüvet Akpınar and Salih Sevgican, had been working for years in the First Division of the political police, as the press now reports. All revolutionaries who were taken there, came to know them as torturers. The policemen we punished in Adana and Izmir were equally well-known torturers. The chief prosecutor of the State Security Court, Yaşar Günaydin, whom we punished in Istanbul on 6 February 1992, was a well-known anti-democratic fascist, who also had committed many crimes. He was an enemy of the people and the revolutionaries, who during the *coup d'état* of 12 March 1971 and 12 September 1982 worked as prosecutor at the military courts and later at the state security courts. He was present when people were tortured, he conspired with the Kontra, and demanded the heads of revolutionaries during trials. With this identity, he is a symbol of the function and operating procedures of the state security courts. That is also why he was appointed chief prosecutor of the State Security Court of Istanbul.

Neither Yaşar Günaydin, nor Nusret Demiral (chief prosecutor of the State Security Court of Ankara), nor the state security courts in general have anything to do with regular civil justice. Yaşar Günaydin's and Nusret Demiral's entire 'achievements' consist of torture and conspiracies. For these two members of the Kontra, the state security courts are the best place for demonstrating their 'talents'.

The state security courts represent Kontra justice and implement it.

The task of the security courts is to provide a legal cover for oppression, torture,

** The same tactics were used by the police for this operation, too. They claimed that the operation against the prosecutor was carried out by the THKP-Red Army. There is no organization with that name. It is an invention by the police.

*** In the course of this operation, one of our comrades was killed in action.

terror, intimidation, blackmail, and conspiracies. They are instruments for the subjugation of the people and the revolutionaries and for the annihilation of their organized forces.

We once more warn the judges and prosecutors who are still working for the state security courts: do not serve the Kontra and the exploitative regime. If you do not want to commit further crimes, resign and report publicly on the modus operandi of this institution against the people and the revolutionaries, on the torture, the conspiracies, and on the way the trials are planned and prepared. You must know that you will be held accountable for as long as you serve the enemies of the people, and that you will not escape the proper conviction by the justice of the people.

Police officer Şaban Ceylan, the bodyguard of Yaşar Günaydin, did not heed our repeated appeals to stop protecting these enemies of the people and not to hinder and endanger our fighters, and for this reason he was punished.

Once again, we appeal to all policemen: refrain from endangering the people and the revolutionaries, refrain from participating in torture and murders; do not protect any longer those who commit these crimes, do not let yourselves be used any more as bodyguards.

You policemen are now yelling the slogan: 'Blood for blood – Revenge!' We understand you – you are scared! You know that the justice of the people will punish you sooner or later, and therefore you are worried. But your slogans are addressed to the wrong people. Your blood is being shed by the oligarchy which orders you to commit torture and massacres. It forces you to commit crimes against the people and the revolutionaries, it ordered you to massacre 12 revolutionaries on 12 and 14 July. One thing you must not forget: not one crime will remain unpunished by the justice of the people, it will hold you accountable. You will not escape it. But if you publicly confess, repent and place yourself in the hands of the justice of the people, your life will be spared.

On the other hand, the prosecutor's driver, Halit Balta, was not the object of the operation, but he, too, did not heed our repeated appeals. We do not want to punish anyone who does not deserve it. For that reason, our organization has published an appeal to people like Balta, which we now confirm once more. If the driver had heeded the appeal, he would be still alive.

WE WARN THE GOVERNMENT ONCE AGAIN! We shall continue our demands, and you do not have the right to make people wait and to continue to promise democracy to the peoples and lie to them. Either you fulfill our legitimate demands, or we shall enforce them ourselves.

With its lies, its double standards, its complete subordination to imperialism, the government bears the responsibility for the MGK (National Security Council) decisions, which through its orders and statements encourage the torturers and enemies of the people to implement a policy of bloodshed. And they will never be able to shed this responsibility. We shall hold them responsible no matter what. Once more we warn Demirel and İnönü and all members of the government, the DYP-SHP leadership, and all parliamentarians: you and your policy are responsible for the bloodshed. You will have to suffer the consequences for this policy. Your lies and double-standard statements will not save you. You have only one

way out, and that is to fulfill the demands of the people and the revolutionaries, and to speak the truth!

KURDISH, TURKISH, AND ALL OTHER PEOPLES OF TURKEY! Four months ago, Demirel and İnönü retained the votes of the masses through their lies about democracy and human rights, and now one can see their ugly mugs behind the mask.

WE MUST DEMAND! For we demand what is ours. Torture, extrajudicial executions on the spot, and the disappearances must stop, and those responsible must be found. We must demand jobs and housing. We have a right to a life with dignity. If we do not raise our voice, they will continue to deprive us of bread, jobs, and the lives of our children.

DO NOT BELIEVE THEIR LIES! Do not believe them when they speak of democracy and human rights.

Do not believe them, for the torturers are still at work, and their tools are in their old place.

Do not believe them, for the generals of 12 September are going free with their bloody hands, and the government does not proceed against them.

Do not believe them. Even the minister for human rights is demanding revenge for the punished torturers.

Do not believe them when they say 'wait, and we shall give you', for they have nothing to give to the people. They are busy searching for ways to increase the profits of imperialism and its collaborators at your expense.

We must not believe, we must demand, we must raise our voice — we must fight!

We demand that they give us our legitimate rights, or else we shall seize them for ourselves. The government has taken over the inheritance of the generals of 12 September and the ANAP. We shall not allow the government to legalize terror and oppression behind the mask of democracy and human rights. If torture, massacres, repression and exploitation continue, we, too, shall continue our operations.

WE WANT OUR RIGHTS. IF YOU DO NOT GIVE THEM TO US, WE SHALL SEIZE THEM FOR OURSELVES!

THE DYP - SHP GOVERNMENT IS CONTINUING THE HERITAGE OF THE GENERALS OF 12 SEPTEMBER AND THE ANAP GOVERNMENT!

WE SHALL NOT ALLOW THE GOVERNMENT TO LEGITIMIZE OPPRESSION AND TERROR UNDER THE GUISE OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND DEMOCRACY!

WHILE TORTURE, MASSACRES, EXPLOITATION AND CRUELTY CONTINUE, WE, TOO, SHALL CONTINUE OUR OPERATIONS!

Devrimci Sol
Armed Revolutionary Units

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